

NO. 215

OCTOBER, 1907

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THE ARENA

A Twentieth-Century Review of Opinion

B. O. FLOWER: EDITOR



SIMON GUGGENHEIM and COLORADO'S SHAME

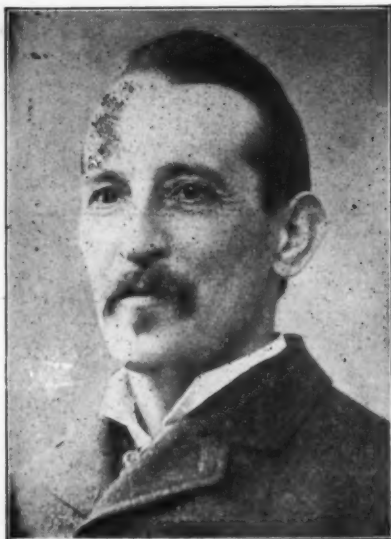
Municipal-Ownership and Political Corruption

CHINATOWN AND ITS TRAFFIC IN WOMEN

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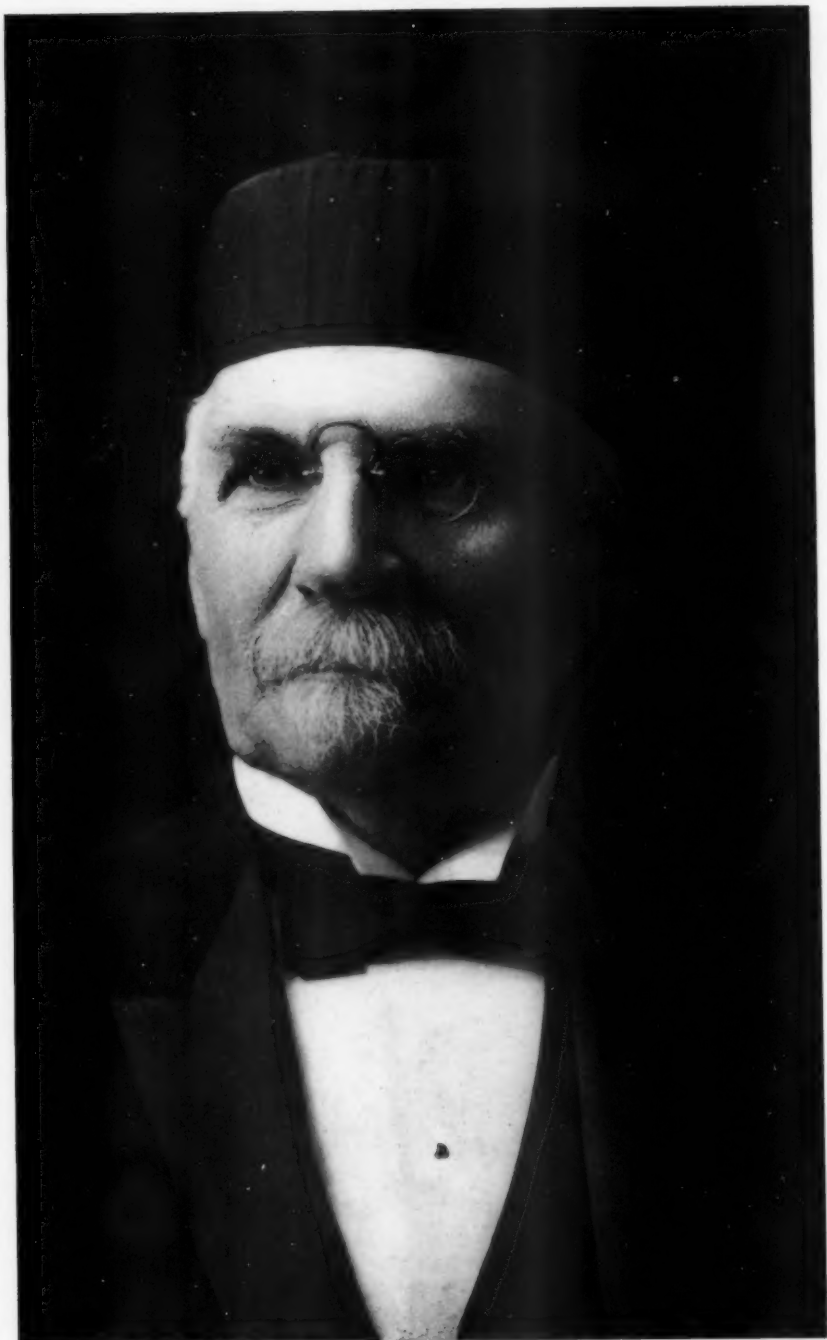


Photo. by Steckel. Los Angeles, Calif.

T. S. C. LOWE.

THE ARENA

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them;
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them.—HEINE.*

The Arena

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THE SENATORIAL ELECTION IN COLORADO.

BY ELLIS MEREDITH.

SUCCESS in politics is sometimes accidental; often it is "the long result of time." This is preëminently the case in the election of Simon Guggenheim to the United States Senate by the legislature of the State of Colorado. For nine years Simon Guggenheim has been a political possibility; at first he was something of a joke; a man who was "easy," from the politician's point-of-view. He believed what was told him, spent money lavishly, did n't know "the game" and was considered available whenever he might be wanted. For the last two years the Guggenheim campaign has been no joke, but even those who regarded it as a menace, were inclined to think of the persistent little man as a kind of Lilliputian Black Douglas who would never be able to make good his threat to secure the highest office any state has to give.

Once upon a time Simon Guggenheim might have been made senator by popular vote. Once in his life he rose to a great occasion and did a great thing without fanfaronade or blare of trumpets. Once in his life he was a popular possibility, but he had neither the imagination, the breadth of vision, the experience or

the traditions to make him realize his opportunity. All he had to do was to live up to that ideal of duty and wait until he was old enough and he might have been elected United States Senator. If he has found it easier to purchase success than to steadily deserve it, he is not the first man who has had that experience.

It is worth while to recall that historic moment, for there are other things to be said of this young man that are not so pleasant. It was during the year 1893, a date that will never be forgotten by any citizen of Colorado. Chicago had her fire and San Francisco her earthquake, but Denver had '93 when one bank after another shut its doors; when one mine after another in the state shut down and the men flocked to Denver, and the Coxey Army marched on Washington, and want and despair were on every hand and men's hearts failed them, and winter was coming.

A meeting was called at the Brown Palace Hotel, by the mining men, the operators and the smelter magnates of the state, and thither went Simon Guggenheim, representing his own interests. Probably he was the youngest man in

the room, for he was but twenty-five, and the older men believed that it was necessary to close the smelters and after a long discussion they decided that this action should be taken at once. It meant throwing three thousand men out of employment, and leaving them and their families destitute. The young fellow had said nothing up to this point, when someone turned to him and asked what he was going to do. Then Simon Guggenheim stood up and said simply, "Gentlemen, the rest of you can do as you like. Our smelters will not close down," and the smelters did not close down. If the operators cursed this obstinate young man the people blessed him.

Someone who knows it better should write the story of the smelting industry, and describe the growth of the trust that has ruined this community and built that one, that has made one mine pay while another exactly similar in location and output has had to be abandoned. The story of the trusts is pretty well known, however, and the story of one is but a variation on the history of the others. The smelter trust is one of the most oppressive known to the people of the West and the Guggenheims are its head and front. In 1893 Guggenheim did not care whether the other smelters closed or not; later he did care, and he closed them.

It would be hard to say exactly when the political bee commenced buzzing about the ears of Simon Guggenheim, but nine years ago last summer, having reached the age of thirty, he wished to become Governor of Colorado. To understand the situation at all one must bear in mind the fact that the silver question was still the only issue talked about in the Centennial State at that time. There were Bryan Democrats and Cleveland Democrats—sometimes called "White-Wings"; there were McKinley Republicans and Silver Republicans; Senator Teller being the leader of the latter and the late Senator Wolcott

of the former; there were Populists and "Middle-of-the-Road Populists," Senator Patterson being the leader of the "regular" organization while the late Governor Waite was the chief of the little band of "Middle-of-the-Roaders."

Guggenheim, who had supported Bryan loyally, with his money at least, was allied with the Silver Republicans, and wished to secure the nomination of that convention for the governorship. The chairman of the Silver Republican State Central Committee was Richard Broad, of Jefferson county, and he was heartily in sympathy with the Guggenheim desires. So was one D. C. Webber, private secretary to Guggenheim. But both of these men had been friends of Wolcott's long before Guggenheim had ever come to Colorado, and Wolcott's one object was to prevent a fusion of the silver forces, and secure control of the Silver Republican organization as well as of the "straight" Republicans. Wolcott's personal interest was in securing the election of hold-over senators favorable to him in the senatorial election by the legislature meeting in 1901. This was impossible unless he could prevent the alliance of the other parties. It was well understood that Teller desired it, and that Patterson and the Democratic leaders would favor a tripartite organization that would make victory certain.

How much of all this was clear to Guggenheim no one can tell. It is certain that there were many conferences between his lieutenants and those of Wolcott, so many, that Teller's friends began to be afraid that the party was about to be betrayed. At a conference held in Denver in July, it was decided to hold the Silver-Republican convention in Colorado Springs early in September, and Charles S. Sprague, a newspaper man of that city immediately telegraphed the manager of the opera house there, Mr. S. N. Nye, engaging the theater for this occasion. A little later, when the alliance between Guggenheim, Broad and Wolcott had been perfected the two

former went to Colorado Springs in the absence of Mr. Sprague, called on Mr. Nye and secured a receipt for \$100 paid on the rent of the opera house. The plan was to get possession of the meeting place, pack the hall with Wolcott delegates, nominate Guggenheim, and refuse any fusion with the Populists or Democrats.

When Sprague returned he told Nye he had been tricked, and Nye returned Broad's check, while Sprague paid him \$225 for the lease of the building and Mr. J. C. Plumb, acting for the local committee, hired the building for the county convention, so that it was let to the Teller people for September sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth. In the meantime, wherever it was possible to secure delegates favorable to the Wolcott alliance at the various county conventions this was done, and with such effect that when the El Paso (Colorado Springs) county convention was held, Mr. A. M. Stevenson, now a member of the Republican National Central Committee for Colorado, warned the convention that unless they guarded the hall they would find it occupied the next day by delegates unfriendly to the principles of the Silver Republican party.

By this time the understanding between Guggenheim and Wolcott was complete. Guggenheim was to be nominated, fusion was to be prevented, and later, when the McKinley Republican convention met in Denver, it was to nominate Guggenheim as its leader. On the eve of the convention Mr. I. N. Stevens of Denver and District Attorney McAllister of Colorado Springs advised the McKinleyites that "possession was nine points of the law," Sheriff Boynton of El Paso county was called in conference, a train-load of gun men came down from Denver, and the opera house was attacked from the front and also at the side door. It is conceded that the first shots came from the attacking party, shattering windows and piercing doors, but those who were within re-

turned the fire and a man named Harris, one of the attacking party, was mortally wounded. The Broad men remained in possession of the building.

Both parties went to the courts, and held their conventions elsewhere.

Then Guggenheim had his first experience of what is known as "the double cross." To be sure, he had given it to Teller and the Silver Republicans, who had relied on his good faith, but he was to receive it, and that is quite a different matter. He found that Wolcott was not for him, but for an ex-sheriff of Arapahoe (Denver) county. The ex-sheriff came and told him all about it, and promised to let him be lieutenant-governor, but Guggenheim did not see it that way. The other leaders came and said the same thing. Finally Wolcott himself appealed to Guggenheim to get out of the way and let the procession go on, whereupon Guggenheim made this speech which sounds very like some he has recently repudiated:

"I want you men who are opposing me to understand that you are down here on my money. I am supporting you, paying your board, paying you cash. I want you to understand that I must be nominated for governor. I want you to understand that I have preserved a list showing the name of every person to whom I have paid a dollar, and what it was paid for. If I am not nominated I will publish the list. And I want you to understand that if you nominate another man that I will spend \$300,000 to defeat him."

This interview, published in the *Rocky Mountain News* at that time, Mr. Guggenheim did not deny. The fact that the men whom he addressed believed that it was not an idle threat is sufficiently evidenced by the fact that he was duly nominated, and Senator Henry M. Teller came out and said over his own signature, "I charge, as I did in the Republican convention, that he was by

the free and improper use of money endeavoring to secure the possession of the high office of governor of the state." And he did not deny the charge. He had bought and paid for the office and expected the goods to be delivered.

The friends of Wolcott would probably claim that he was never party to any understanding that Guggenheim should have the first place on the ticket, whatever his lieutenants may have said. It is well known that he and his brother, who was president of the Denver Club, had not permitted Guggenheim to become a member of that exclusive institution. In any event, when the McKinley Republican convention was held in Denver Henry Wolcott was nominated for governor, and Guggenheim was left facing certain defeat.

Under the circumstances, he cast about him to see what other alliances he could make, and effected some kind of agreement with ex-Governor Waite to secure the support of the Middle-of-the-Road Populists. They held a behind-closed-doors convention, to which nobody was admitted without the sign and the pass-word, and Waite nominated the smelter man, telling the story with which I have begun this narrative, and concluding in these words: "Mr. Guggenheim said to the Grant smelter, 'Simon says thumbs up!' and the Grant smelter put up its thumbs, and they did n't stop the smelters and the laboring men and the miners did not lose their jobs. I believe that, in the providence of God, he is the one man in this state whom we can elect against aristocracy, against monopoly, and standing upon our principles as Populists."

The resolutions adopted by that convention declare "That we as a true body of the National People's party, accept the declaration of the Honorable Simon Guggenheim as good doctrine, especially his position on direct-legislation, which we recognize as the most vital reform that is now before the people."

Simon Guggenheim as the choice of

the Bloody-Bridled Waite should need no further commendation in congress.

There was yet one other possible chance of support, and he attempted to secure it. In Colorado the women vote, and there was in Denver at that time a strong non-partisan organization of women, known as "The Civic Federation," of which Mrs. Sue Hall was the president. Mr. Guggenheim's brother, William, waited upon some of the members of that organization, while other friends of his saw Mrs. Hall, and offered to meet all expenses if the women would nominate a local ticket, which would be filed with the Guggenheim state candidates at its head. There were reasons why Mr. Guggenheim could not be an acceptable candidate to women, even had these women been less loyal to the cause of silver than they were, and they declined any alliance.

Things were not going to the smelter man's taste. He found it easier to buy a nomination than to buy any chance of election, and went East, forgetting to file his acceptance of his nomination. Later, when all hope of success was gone, while he might have still had his name placed on the ballots by petition, he withdrew. In his letter of October 7, 1898, withdrawing his name, he gives his reasons as regard first for his business interests, and then to the "cause" of the "Silver Republican party."

But there is another story. The straight Republicans were determined to get him out of the way; otherwise, success against the fusion ticket, with Charles S. Thomas running for governor, was impossible. They learned that Mr. Guggenheim had brought a suit in the Federal Court, alleging that he was a resident of Philadelphia. At the same time they found a record of his vote locally. They pointed out to him the advantage of not having the two facts played up in the newspapers as a deadly parallel, and he was able to grasp the situation.

It is estimated that this experiment in

politics cost Mr. Guggenheim \$70,000, but probably it was worth it, for without it he would hardly have been able to complete the deals which have finally put him in the United States Senate. For this is not a mere triumph of machine politics, nor is it the ordinary story of the corrupting of a legislature by the buying of votes, which is so sadly familiar to us. Guggenheim did not put all his eggs in one basket, nor rely upon one campaign to give him the necessary backing. He intended to have the machine, but he intended also to have "the god of the machine"—the Warwicks who set the wheels in motion.

Two years ago, the Republican candidate for governor, having been beaten at the polls, a conspiracy was entered into by the Warwicks to contest the election of the Democratic governor, elected by a majority of something over 10,000 on the face of the returns. It is useless to go into the ramifications of that dark and lawless piece of business. Suffice it to say it was expensive. It cost the state some \$128,000 which the taxpayers have had to meet, but it cost the Warwicks \$50,000 more, and they did not feel disposed to part with this amount of ready money. What happened was told in this language to the members of the senate of Colorado last January, by Senator Tully Scott:

"I am advised that pending the so-called contest for the governorship two years ago, and when the corporation managers were in some distress, Mr. Guggenheim was called into a room in this city to meet twelve others who proposed that in consideration of the immediate payment of \$50,000 by Mr. Guggenheim, to carry on the contest, that these twelve would pledge him their support for the senatorship, accompanied by the statement that he could not doubt the certainty of his election with that support; that after securing the individual pledge of each in the presence of the others, Mr. Guggenheim con-

sented and paid the initial payment on his purchase in advance."

Mr. Guggenheim's manager was the same gentlemen who was at the head of his campaign nine years ago, Mr. Richard Broad, of Golden, a quiet, shrewd politician who is accused of growing wealthy in the Guggenheim service, though there are no startling evidences of it. Perhaps he has suggested certain benefactions from time to time; perhaps they have been the outcome of real generosity. At any rate, Mr. Guggenheim has given large sums to several causes, more especially to the State School of Mines, located at Golden, the home of Mr. Broad, the home of the recent secretary of the Republican State Central Committee Mr. John H. Vivian, who is now state chairman, and incidentally, the site of the Golden smelter. It is also the home of Morton Alexander, hold-over senator, who refused to go into the caucus called by the state chairman, and would not cast his vote for Guggenheim. Every possible argument was brought to bear on him by his party leaders. One of them pointed to the fine building erected for the School of Mines by Guggenheim. "Can you need any better argument than that?" he asked triumphantly. "Is n't that reason enough to vote for this man?"

Alexander is a tall, slender, dark-haired, dark-eyed man, in frail health. He looked at his interlocutor for a moment, and then turned the other way, and looking up the valley pointed to the silent Golden smelter, closed by order of the trust. "Look at those smokeless chimneys," he answered. "Do you think the gift of \$100,000 makes up for the injury done this valley? He can well afford to give; it is but a small part of what he has taken away," and the tempter was silent.

Having secured the Warwicks, and the central machine, it would have seemed that success was certain, but Guggenheim had had experience with that or-

ganization before, and he did not propose to turn his fate and his barrel over to state headquarters. Indeed, he was convinced that the barrel campaign was a mistake; better fifty-nine kegs, one in each county in the state. Politics is a tremendously expensive game, even when no illegitimate expenses are incurred. Every county chairman is apt to call upon his state chairman for funds, in addition to literature and speakers. When the calls came in Chairman Vivian responded that he was very sorry, but there was no money; sometimes he asked how the legislative candidates stood; sometimes he waited a day or so, but as soon as it was wise he put the county chairman who needed funds in communication with the man who had them, and the relief was sent out forthwith, in the shape of a personal check from Guggenheim. Once more he was in a position to say, "I want you to undersand that I have preserved a list showing the name of every person to whom I have paid a dollar, and what it was paid for. If I am not nominated I will publish the list." The legislative candidates may have never seen a dollar of the money; it is not charged that he bought them personally, but his keg was in the local headquarters, and they knew it, for everybody in the state knew it; every Democratic paper charged it, and no Republican paper denied it. The Democratic platform stated specifically:

"We directly charge that the Republican party has entered into a compact under which the sovereign power of the legislature of this state to elect a United States Senator is delegated to the executive committee of the American Smelting & Refining Company."

And no Republican orator denied it on the stump.

The campaign was a hard-fought one, and but that Judge Ben B. Lindsey saw fit to inject himself into it, running as an independent candidate, and vilifying

and decrying Alva Adams, the Democratic candidate, whom he had himself declared the only logical candidate, the result would very likely have been the other way; Lindsey polled over 18,000 votes and Haywood over 17,000, and most of them were a Democratic loss, while Buchtel, the Republican candidate for governor, ran 20,000 votes behind the vote cast for Peabody two years before. The Republican victory was much greater than even the Republicans expected, and when the entire vote was in it showed that the Republicans had seventy out of the hundred members of the legislature. Guggenheim's work in the counties had been done well, but he left nothing to chance—such a chance, for example, as a caucus called by the members of the legislature themselves for a full and free discussion of the various matters to come before them. A caucus was called by Chairman John F. Vivian for two o'clock, December 31, 1906, and all the Republican members of the legislature were there, and all of them were obedient to the lash of the party whip, save two, Senator Morton Alexander, who cast his vote for Governor MacDonald, and Representative Merle D. Vincent.

The resemblance between the two men is singular; a description of one fits the other exactly, save that Alexander is a sick man, so sick that the importunities of his friends, and both Broad and Vivian are life-long friends, worried him into a serious illness. He was still confined to his house when the election of United States Senator was held, January 15th.

But Vincent is as strong and healthy as anyone needs to be, apparently, and threats and cajolings had no more effect with him than they had with Alexander. If anything, they but served to make him set his firm lower jaw a little more firmly, and the steely glint of his eyes grew a little colder. He was right, and his people were with him. They had no power over him, and they found it out.

His was the one voice raised by any member of the majority against the crime they were about to commit. The minority members in the senate and house spoke well. It is doubtful whether a more scathing speech was ever made there than that of Senator Tully Scott from Teller who placed Honorable Charles S. Thomas in nomination, and in doing so took occasion to review the Guggenheim campaign up to the crowning infamy when the goods long since paid for, were delivered.

In the house, Bernard J. O'Connell, member from Clear Creek, spoke eloquently, with all the fire and feeling of his race, but after all this was to be expected. The speech of Vincent was expected also, but it was listened to with uneasiness as well as attention. The galled jade winced over nearly every well-rounded sentence, while calm and collected, Vincent stood in the aisle, or occasionally took a few nervous steps that betrayed the strain he was under, and grilled the majority for an action that placed Colorado in the same category with Delaware and Montana.

"No body of men have a right to bolt the promises and the platform of the Republican party, and I know that if they do they can not carry me with them, if there is not one man left," he said. "You and I went out before the people of Colorado and said, 'We recommend the enactment of a law governing the railway commerce of this state along the lines of the National Rate Law.' What did we mean by it? Do you think the man you have nominated would support an extension of the powers of the National Inter-State Commerce Commission as recommended in the last message of President Roosevelt? Let me say to you that Inter-State Commerce Commissioner Clark, sitting a few weeks ago at Pueblo, disclosed the fact that the American Smelting Refining Company, of which this man is the head, was enjoying preferential rates granted

upon a secret letter written by the freight and general traffic agent of the Denver and Rio Grande railroad, greatly reduced from the public tariff that other shippers have to pay. And yet you expect this man to support an enlargement of those powers. The idea is preposterous.

"You cannot elect him without bolting your platform; you cannot elect him without repudiating it in spirit and letter. You cannot elect him without hurling it into the face of the people who voted for you and for me,—'We got this up to get votes, that is all.' And who is it wants this man's election? Is it you? Is it the people of Colorado? I tell you that five men, purporting to act for the Republican State Central Committee have bargained the election to this man in return for contributions to the party, and they ask you to ratify it.

"Let me say to you that the greatest evil in this age is the indifference to and disregard of law manifested by individuals and by big business interests. Men have become intoxicated with material prosperity and have grown indifferent to honest methods—the square deal that you and I boast of to our people. They have conducted and operated their business in defiance of law, and I say to you that to send a man representing that class to the United States Senate is equivalent to serving notice on the President of the United States that we care nothing for him nor what he represents. It is equivalent to saying to him, 'You will carry out your enforcement of law without our aid. We are going to send to you a man who is the most conspicuous evader of law that lives in Colorado.'

"I have heard what Simon Guggenheim represents in business. I am opposed to class representation. I would oppose a representative of the laboring classes just as quickly as I would oppose this man. A man who is not a representative of all classes and of all business, of laborer, farmer, merchant, miner, smelter man, is not fit to be the representa-

tive of an American commonwealth."

The roll was called and sixty-eight votes were cast for Simon Guggenheim. The next day, in joint session, the deal was completed, and the little Hebrew was invested with the toga in the presence of a crowd that was more than half of it grim and silent. William G. Evass, the great Republican "boss" of the state, high in the Methodist church, D. B. Fairley, ex-state Chairman, and John F. Vivian, present chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, Richard Broad, Guggenheim's manager, Congressman-elect Cook and a few others prominently identified with Republican politics were on hand to see that their plans were consummated. The certificate was handed him, the people filed by, as they do when the officiating undertaker bids them "view the remains," and it was all over. Colorado will be represented in the United States Senate for six years by a man who could not have carried any single precinct in the state by popular vote.

Guggenheim made a nice little speech, stilted and platitudinous, and smiled a

pleasant, rather unctuous smile, and the people drifted away.

Before the election Senator John H. Crowley made two attempts to have the charges against Guggenheim investigated, but the rules were suspended and his resolution expunged from the minutes on the motion of Senator Milton L. Anfenger, who, a Jew himself, was perhaps the one really loyal and ardent supporter that Guggenheim possessed in either house.

Possibly some of these men received money, but this is not charged. The charge that is made against them is that like "dumb driven cattle" they permitted their party leaders to barter away the office of United States Senator, and then made good the bill of sale. They permitted a handful of men to betray the party honor, and then betrayed their own. They did at the behest of party leaders what they well knew their constituents did not desire, and at a time when loyalty to principles has done much to supplant the mere party shibboleth, they have bowed down to the god of the machine. *Vale!* ELLIS MEREDITH.

Denver, Colorado.

CHINATOWN AND THE CURSE THAT MAKES IT A PLAGUE-SPOT IN THE NATION.

BY ELINOR H. STOY.

PREVIOUS to the 18th of April (1906) the number of Chinese living in Oakland was comparatively small; a few blocks really comprised what was known as Chinatown. But the earthquake and the fire in San Francisco changed conditions in the twinkling of an eye, for in the mad flight to a place of safety, the Chinese came here in droves; here they have elected to stay. Jack's beanstalk has found a parallel in the rapidity of the

growth of the new Chinatown in our midst. This new section now includes a much larger area than that formerly occupied by the Chinese quarter in old San Francisco, though it can never be so picturesque. The streets here are wide and level; whereas, in San Francisco they were narrow, hilly and Orientally dirty, but they were attractive and interesting to artist and tourist the world over, with their high-balconied houses, gay with Chinese lanterns, bunt-

ing and many-hued potted flowers; their hum of many voices in varying keys of Chinese jargon; their shuffle of many feet; their hints of dark, winding passage ways. The Chinese love secrecy and they found it in old San Francisco; in mysterious underground cellars concealing opium dens and hiding places for criminals, fleeing from the clutch of the law. There were warring tongs whose appetites for feuds led to their shooting up the town, with the same spirit and handiness which characterizes a Kentuckian in manipulating a pistol, or drawing a cork, where jealous rivals killed each other—or one ran off with the almond-eyed maid in dispute. All these were features of the old Chinatown in "The City that was," and all these came to Oakland in the days of the hegira from over the Bay. Already the tongs "have been at it again," six or eight men have been shot and killed in a street fight between the Hop Sings and the Bing Gongs over the possession of a slave girl, who had been given by one man to another as security for a debt of two thousand dollars.

The Chinese, men, women and children, a human tide, poured into Oakland during those memorable three days of the fire in San Francisco, bringing with them everything—or nothing. I recall one of a terror stricken group bidding the lady for whom he had worked a hasty adieu, saying, "Missy Bennet, I so solly for you beclaus you so sick, I so solly for me beclaus I so scared, I hully up to Chinatown," and he too found refuge in Oakland. Thus our Chinese population has grown in less than twelve months into thousands.

The Chinaman likes to live to himself, and this privilege is accorded him. Talk about race prejudice against the negro in the South! It is mild indeed when compared with the race feeling manifested toward the yellow man on this coast.

The houses on the streets now occupied by the Chinese in Oakland were

mostly small and old, and were of but little value, before the influx of the Chinese, but have risen enormously in price. The Chinaman, however, has a long head and "ways that are peculiar" when it comes to business. His method has been to go to the owner of a piece of property in the neighborhood and buy it at any price asked; this would condemn the whole block, which he and his associates would then buy at *their* own price.

The old dwellings have been transformed by raising them two or three stories, making stores and shops on the ground-floor and surrounding them with alleys and wide awnings. New houses have been hastily run up, in some of which are located the club houses, chop suey restaurants, tong headquarters, gambling dens, opium joints and brothels. The *ensemble* and the atmosphere give the effect of a strange, far-off country. These people do not love the white man; the white man does not love them; but they are bound together by one common bond—money-getting.

The quarters are small, and what strikes one especially, is the number of narrow passage-ways out of wide entrances with wicket doors at the side. At each brightly painted and lighted entrance where these peculiar little wickets are found, sits, night and day, on a high stool, a sentinel, silent, watchful. The atmosphere reeks with mystery, secrecy, and suggests that behind those closed doors are many things that will not bear inspection. Huge lanterns swing gaily from wide wooden awnings and balconies, peacock feathers wave above signs over windows, and flags flutter in the breeze, giving to the surroundings a pleasing medley of color.

A short time since we went into one of the gaudily painted Chinese houses, bright with flowers and flags, and bearing in the sign, "Chop Suey," to find out what that might be. It is a Chinese dish made of chicken, mushrooms, and—I dare not even guess what else. A Chinese band was making a horrible

din, the gongs were being pounded at a mad rate, the fiddlers were fiddling, other unnamable instruments were squeaking. It was impossible to hear one's own voice. We made a short stay for Chinese music has this quality, the more you hear of it the less you are reconciled to it.

The Chinese are great fowl eaters. We walked through feathers almost ankle-deep on one street. We saw chickens, ducks and geese dried and mummified, hanging by their necks, and the odor gave strength to the belief that they had been a long time "dead."

A glance into windows and through open doorways showed many things curious as to shape and size, and as to smells—unspeakable.

The import trade is very large and Oakland is a distributing center. Heavily loaded trucks file along the streets; huge bales done up in straw matting, long coffin-shaped boxes neatly bound with bamboo, boxes with bright covers and queer lettering line the sidewalks, showing the volume of business being done, and explaining from a commercial standpoint why Chinatown is tolerated in Oakland.

Streams of Chinese ebb and flow through the streets, chaffer and chatter, crouch on the corners with small kits of tools, busily at work, or wander aimlessly about, some dirty and ragged, with haggard old faces, as hideous as death's heads, smoking long-stemmed pipes and dreaming pipe dreams—presumably. Others are smiling, pleasant looking and apparently self-satisfied. The long queues are everywhere in evidence. The men wear the same canoe-shaped shoes and same cut of garment as those worn by the women, and all have that shuffling, stealthy tread, which gives one a sort of "beware behind," feeling.

Crowds stand before the posters plastered on the fronts and sides of houses, printed on great sheets of bright-hued paper. The passion for color predominates everywhere. These are bulletins

and embrace all the news of the day, important business meetings, calls of the tongs, etc. In addition to this means of publishing news, there are three newspapers published in Chinatown—progressive and liberal—with a large circulation.

The Chinaman who has a family and home life is said to be a model husband and father, but married men are the exception! A vast number are unfettered by family ties; hence the slave-girl trade. Home making is not a coolie occupation. The immigrants who cross the Atlantic usually bring their families with them and in time amalgamate. Not so with the class who cross the Pacific. From everlasting to everlasting he is—"Chinee." Since Hawaii and the Philippines have come into our possession the slave trade has grown enormously.

The Chinese are inveterate gamblers and have all manner of superstitions regarding chance.

The women are always an interesting study. Some are wrinkled and bald-headed, old and haggish; others are fat and gross; others are slight and delicate, with clear-cut features and very pretty and graceful, even though disguised and handicapped by the ugly costume of their native dress. Loose black coats reach to their knees, floppy pantaloons, and feet encased in canoe-shaped shoes, with whitest of white stockings "peep gayly in and out."

There are class distinctions in dress, indicated by the material of which the garment is made—a sort of Chinatown "Four hundred" distinction; the merchants' wives wearing silk or satin beautifully embroidered. The head is always bare, the hair glistening and smooth with some kind of glue, and is dressed only once a month! Artificial flowers, jade hair-pins and gold ornaments stuck through these queer horn-like rolls make a most fearful and wonderful coiffure. They go about in groups, laughing, chatting and shopping

with all the freedom and zest of their white sisters—"the eternal feminine."

The little children are bright and cunning, playing happily about the streets, or fighting and crying. They are always dressed in brilliant colors and as they dart about suggest a swarm of butterflies. The babies wear little trousers and little aprons in green, red, pink and royal purple and wear the most curious skull caps on their heads, with bands of gilt around them, set with imitation jewels and with funny little ears lined with fur sticking up at the sides, so that viewed from the rear, the child's head resembles that of a kitten. It is no uncommon sight to see little girls of seven and eight years, carrying, strapped on their backs, fat Chinese babies too young to walk alone. These are slave-girls. Going into the shops one may see them standing all day at work, with the fat babies still strapped on their backs. Think of the weariness of to-day—the dreary future of many to-morrows, stretching out before them—waiting till old enough to be placed in houses of prostitution! For it is a well-known fact that girls are kidnapped or sold while yet babies—in China and Japan—and are all their lives familiarized with vice. From infancy they are trained to the life of a prostitute.

In the city schools the Chinese children learn rapidly and are invariably polite and well-behaved. In these latter respects they are superior to the American children. That Chinese are not unob-servant is well illustrated by the Chinaman, who, correcting his child for some breach of manners, said, "You all same bad, likee Melican child."

And now I come to that which interests me most; horrifies me most; makes me most indignant—the slave trade in Chinese and Japanese girls, right here in California! A business of no small proportion, when it is conservatively estimated that not less than ten million dollars is invested in it! and Oakland is doing its share. Furthermore,

it is a matter of common talk in Chinatown that there is a syndicate of white men carrying on this trade.

A San Francisco paper said recently that there are more than a thousand Japanese women held in slavery in this State! There is not the slightest doubt of the truth of this statement, except that the number of women held in this vile bondage is underestimated. Owing to the scarcity of Oriental women in the United States, Japanese men place their women at the disposal of Chinese men. Famine and the hard times following the war with Russia have been factors in the increase of the slave trade.

At the time of the earthquake and fire in San Francisco the soldiers rescued from the slave pens in Chinatown about three hundred Japanese girls, many of them mere children. The soldiers said these girls did not know in what part of the world they were living! It is true there are women held in slavery in other towns in the State, and along the coast, but we ought to be sweeping before our own doors, for quite recently one hundred and twenty-five Japanese prostitutes have been brought to Oakland and another cargo was expected. In Oakland, where churches throw the shadow of their tall spires across this iniquity in the heart of the town and only four blocks east of Broadway, the principal thoroughfare—almost under the eaves of the Court House—there flourishes in Little China this hideous vice-culture that ought to thrill and stir in indignation the womanhood of city, state and nation. This indescribably horrible plague-spot is only a little way from the State University, the Schools, the Churches, the Court House and the Health Office! Sources of educational, religious, social, civic and *germ* culture. Chinatown is inoculating the community with its virus and dragging humanity downward; and we are so blinded by money madness that we close our eyes to the evil whose very toleration is morally disintegrating to society at large.

The owners of property met the Chinese with open arms. There was "big money in it." Old houses were remodeled and new ones builded in hot haste. Two are especially noticeable. The ground is leased and the buildings owned by two physicians in good standing, a man who is in the building supply trade, and a member of the Board of Education! The larger building is three stories high and is said to contain 600 rooms. These vary in size from ten to twelve feet. They are arranged in groups off a central passage, eight in a group, reached by narrow hallways less than three feet wide. These rooms and passages are locked. On the ground floor are shops and on the top floor a theater. There is no secret as to the purpose for which these houses are used.

Entrance is denied white people. A sign on the door to one of these passageways says significantly, "Not allow any white person, only Chinese," but a determination to *see*, got a party into the middle court and on every side to the height of three stories Japanese and Chinese girls could be seen in their little rooms. Some had men visitors, some were alone. This building is a fire trap, and only officials who are blind, but with the sense of "touch" wonderfully developed, would have permitted its erection. The outside rooms had windows; the inner rooms were windowless. The stench was horrible.

The other building is long and narrow. It has shops on the ground floor and is approached through an alley left at each end by an outside stairway. Here girls can be imprisoned indefinitely, for here also only the initiated find their way in. A passage two and a half feet wide led to these cell rooms, seven by nine feet. Each cell door had its wicket of wire netting. Behind these bars were seen the painted, pathetic faces of slaves, who shrank back as the party approached.

Here they live in solitary confinement; day in, day out. Your sisters and mine!

(Even the men who visit them do not speak the same language). With no share in the sunny outside world; no sight of the sparkle of the sea; the freedom of the birds; the dancing of the leaves on the trees; no sweet air of heaven to breathe its balm of healing. Only days and nights of black despair in the bitterness of bondage, under the cruelty and bestiality of the Chinese men, who go in and out, a steady stream, increasing in numbers as night comes on. The outside windows are barred, but we saw women's faces peering through them as we stood on the street beneath, looking up at them, with aching hearts, impotent to give them aid. They sometimes take their own lives; the only way out of their misery. A woman who had dragged out her life of slavery was found just the other day hopelessly insane from the brutal treatment accorded her by her owners. She was about forty years old, but looked twice that age.

While yet the city of San Francisco lay in desolation and ruins, upon the ashes of old Chinatown men were employed rebuilding houses to be used as brothels and slave pens, and the slave traders were as actively engaged in their sordid and shameless business as before. The daily papers are calling attention to the fact that the graft trials now in progress include the charges of traffic in slave-girls, and state that a Federal investigation is going on in regard to the sale of human beings, who are taken from the auction block, so to speak, to the slave pens; dens of immorality that even now flourish in Baker Court and Sullivan Alley. The charge is made that landing permits have been issued by white lawyers and notaries public and that large sums of money have passed hands for attorneys' fees and "incidentals" connected with the landing of these women, who are sold for \$3,000 and more; these "incidentals" alone ranging from \$500 to \$700.

A vigorous protest has gone, also, from Seattle, to the government at Washington,

against what is asserted to be an organized traffic in Japanese women, who are being brought into this country for immoral purposes. In connection with this traffic there are said to exist organized blackmailers, who live on the "hush money" collected from the slave-girls. Hundreds of these women are scattered in the logging and mining camps and are gradually drifting into the cities. Japanese slaves are in every port. They seem especially adapted to the trade.

Slave-girls are worth from fifty to one thousand dollars in their own country! Even the most ill-favored sell in this country for from one thousand to three thousand dollars! The slave business pays. There are enormous profits in rentals. All that many a man hath, of self-respect and humanity, will he give for gold and there is but little difference, the Occident and the Orient meet together and worship one God—Money!

We need a new "Abolition Party" made up of American women, demanding not more *restrictive* laws, but laws so constructed and backed by public opinion that this "covenant with death and league with hell" (to use the old shibboleth) shall be annulled—for the shame of it! the shame of it! is that American men are in this infamous business because "there is big money in it"!—this craze which possesses nearly all classes of society; this grand mistake that because "a little money is a good thing, unlimited means is the sum of all good"—no matter how acquired.

I have been told that there are many club women who have said they are longing to throw themselves into some work which will enthuse and vitalize

them, for something to which they can give all of themselves. Why not turn their attention and energy to this "sum of all villainies," and to the third partner in this infamous compact to this wrong done to all womanhood; this shame which is the shame of all women?

I listened to a Fourth of July oration last year, in which a minister said, in a burst of patriotism, "The flag no longer floats over slavery." Within a gun-shot of his own church were the slave pens and brothels of Chinatown, and all over the land "The bitter cry of the children"—the white slaves of labor! The flag still floats over slavery. American money and American men traffic in human chattels in the market places, under the Stars and Stripes.

Whitman said he "Sometimes wondered if he were alone in something that urged him to serve for the love of God and the glory of manhood and womanhood, for the service of humanity." When these hideous facts are set before them, it is my firm belief that there will be a quick response. This same "urge" is in the hearts of our women; this call of true patriotism, which shall, "in the service of humanity" destroy forever this league with hell. There is a solidarity among men, when shall there be a solidarity among women?

That the America we love may be truly the hope of the forlorn and disinherited in every land, for whom a hope remains, and that we shall yet sing together our great national hymn, the womens' voices leading, loud, clear, sweet and strong, "My Country, 't is *for Thee*," is my prayer.

ELINOR H. STOKY.

Oakland, Cal.

MARGARET RIDGELY PARTRIDGE: A PURPOSEFUL POET OF THE HIGHER LIFE.

AN EDITORIAL SKETCH BY B. O. FLOWER.

I.

THE STUDENT of human progress who accepts the evolutionary philosophy and sees in the story of man the steady unfoldment—the slow but on the whole onward and upward march of being to fuller expression and nobler ideals, will be struck with the phenomenon of the ebb and flow of the ideals that are the dynamic power of civilization. Man is rising, but that rise is not unlike the incoming tide, which advances but to retreat, though every onward sweep registers a higher advance than that marked before; and during this eternal ebb and flow we see nations born, flourish and die, and civilizations rise and fall.

It is not the phenomenon that so impresses the philosophical observer, however, as the cause of this rise and fall, for in this we see the secret of life and death for nations and civilizations. Life rises only under the impulsion of moral idealism. So long as the eternal ethical verities of love and justice, faith and nobility, honor and integrity, and consecration to noble ends, or, in a word, the spirit embraced in the Golden Rule and the ideal of self-sacrifice and all-encompassing love taught by the Great Nazarene, are the overmastering spirit with a people or a civilization, it moves upward and onward. The compulsion of moral idealism or the placing of the spiritual verities above material considerations alone can ensure perennial youth to peoples or civilizations. Under its influence alone are enduring or real advances made.

But these periods of growth and true greatness are ever followed by reactionary periods, when high ideals more

and more give way to material concepts. It is no longer the soul or spirit, but the body and raiment that engross popular attention; no longer the ideal of justice and right, but the desire for power, pomp and luxury that forms the keynote of the age; no longer character, but reputation which receives first consideration; no longer what one is, but what he appears to be to others; no longer right but might, or material power, that is the end and aim of man. These are the days when the high, fine idealism that is the vital breath of enduring progress gives place to the demands of sordid materialism and egoism; when nation and civilization flame forth in the splendor of death, the glory of autumn, a glory that is almost always mistaken for life, vitality and the perfection of health.

When Rome was smitten in her vitals and was reeling forward to her doom, she flamed forth in material splendor and the outward show of power and prosperity that long deceived all but the sages and philosophers of the Empire in the early days of her decline. Men saw not the hectic flush of death in the red cheeks and dreamed not of the corruption eating her vitals under the rich and gorgeous raiment that swathed her form. The Rome of the Cæsars was a Rome of materialistic splendor, but it was a visionless Rome, and therefore a Rome smitten with mortal malady. There is no more profound truth in the wonderful words of the Old Testament than the declaration that "Where there is no vision the people perish."

It is the ages of material prosperity, of large armies and the insistence on centering the public imagination on physical forces instead of the compul-

sion of moral idealism, the ages of the piling up of vast fortunes and the gradual concentration of wealth in the hands of an ever-narrowing circle, accompanied by the concentration of the public mind on the acquirement of power, wealth and material acquisitions, that mark the destruction of nations and civilizations; and in these periods men are more concerned with the fleeting things of sense than with the moral ideals that alone can give happiness or afford growth to men, nations or civilizations. As the materialistic tide rises, man thinks less of the approbation of his soul than of the plaudits of a public trained to mistake sound for sense, the transitory for the enduring, the superficial for the fundamental.

Such was the spirit of the age when Jesus trod the sands of Galilee, as is shown by his startling characterization of the representative pillars of society in His time.

The France of Louis the Fourteenth dazzled all Europe, but it was a period that made the French Revolution inevitable. It too was a day wanting in all high visions—a day when materialism was the dominant note of life; a time when churchianity was as much in evidence as Christianity was absent from the hearts of king, court and aristocracy; a time when the state church was guarded, protected and sustained, and freedom of thought was exiled from the land.

Since the close of our Civil War our Republic has been steadily moving along the lines of egoistic, materialistic opportunism. The same promoting causes that sounded the knell of Roman greatness became startlingly apparent during the closing decades of the nineteenth century. During the past half-century there has been a rapid increase of vast fortunes acquired largely by indirection, by special privilege and by farming the public through monopoly rights and the possession of power that placed the people at the mercy of the ever-increasing strength of an industrial feudalism or

autocracy based on political mastership and monopoly rights, or on corruption and privilege. Gradually, but quite noticeably to the student of history, there has been a steady surrender of the ideals of the Declaration of Independence for the fatal class-rule ideals that preceded the democratic epoch and that have been evidenced in imperialistic aggression and the theory of the right of forcible subjugation of the weak by the strong. And there has been a persistent attempt to instill into the minds of the people the belief that a nation's greatness is dependent on its military power, and a corresponding attempt to destroy the tap-root that differentiates democratic government from class-rule,—an attempt to so change the ideal of a democratic republic or a government of the people, by the people and for the people, to that of an imperial republic, in which the supposed servants of the people become for the term of their office the absolute masters of the people. All these signs of that materialistic advance that speaks of national and individual decay have been more and more in evidence until the past few years.

Happily for the great Republic and for civilization at large, there are to-day everywhere signs of a change; everywhere evidences of the gathering together or union of the forces of moral idealism; everywhere signs of the awakening of the old democratic spirit that was embodied in the Declaration of Independence.

Among the positive factors that are making for a moral renaissance are our singers whose brains have been touched by the fire from the spiritual altars. One by one they are sounding the higher notes, embracing the nobler ideals and seeking to awaken the gold-drugged conscience of a great people. These workers are the true heralds of the morning. Every one is hastening the day. The seed-thoughts thus scattered abroad cannot fail in a large way to neutralize the false ideals, the militarism,

materialism and commercialism, that go hand in hand and that make for moral death.

II.

Among the younger of these singers of advancing civilization, these priests and priestesses of moral idealism, of democracy, of justice, freedom and fraternity, is Margaret Ridgely Partridge. In her most recent poem, "The Call of the Lyre," published in *Harper's Magazine* for August of this year, Mrs. Partridge voices the master ideal or thought that must fire the true poet of progress. In speaking recently of this beautiful little creation, the poet expressed to us something of the strong conviction that urges her pen and gives color to her verse; and inasmuch as her words lift the veil as it were and give us an intimate and informing glimpse of the thought and ideals which are to many of her poems what the potter's wheel is to the clay, we give them to the reader:

"The Call of the Lyre," said Mrs. Partridge, "is a direct appeal to the ideal against the material—a summons to Poetry to regain her almost lost position of power and influence in the actual life of to-day. I feel strongly concerning this neglect of one of the most ennobling and directly inspired of all the arts, and I see no reason why Poetry should not be as prominent and subtle a factor in modern life as music, art, or prose literature. To express in lyric form, the great idea of relating poetry to modern conditions, in such a manner that by finding beauty, truth, God, in all things, the appeal must in the end be universal. 'The poetry of earth is never dead,' though the human heart may be unresponsive to its music; but it is *there* that the great revival of poetry must take place. When we come to the understanding of the message of poetry, its beneficent power and uplifting charm and influence, then will it become as spiritual and actual a need in every-day life as music, color or form."

How well the poet has succeeded in her high purpose is seen from the poem, which we give below:*

"In a world where all voices are praying,
For the things that a day disavows,
For the chaplets of rose that decaying
Will not leave a stray leaf on their brows—
O daughters and sons of the Lyre!
A loftier message is yours,
Immortal with lyrical fire
And Love that endures.

"As of old when the hosts of the nation
Were led forth to the thunders of war,
By your torch were they stirred to elation,
And their Light was outpoured from your Star!
Overthrow the false creeds that assail you,
Reestablish your truth among men,
Till they need you, and love you, and hail you,
And crown you, as then!

"In the Courts that are songless though golden
With the greeds and the gains of the throng,
From whose eyes your pure light is withholden,
Recreate your white Temple of Song!
By the side of the statue of Mammon
In his garments and tissues of gold,
Interwoven with jewels that summon
The world to behold!

"Refashion your statue of Beauty,
Rose-white and lithe-limbed as a boy,
And consign to the pale lips the duty
Of song from the wellsprings of joy!
In his hand the unperishing lyre,
In his heart immemorial youth,
And his eyes shall be stellate with fire—
Resplendant with Truth!

"And his voice shall be golden and peerless,
Full of thunder, prophetic, his words,
Soaring skyward, unfettered and fearless
As the lyrical music of birds.
He shall visit the lowly with fire,
He shall sandal with wings the unshod,
He shall comfort, interpret, inspire—
A priest and a god.

"O daughters and sons of the Lyre!
Foregather, exult, and rejoice
In the strength of your mystical quire,
In the luminous star of your choice!
Wake the heart of the people with rapture,
Voice their sorrow, their laughter, their wrong,
And with faith, reinstate and recapture
The Kingdoms of Song!"

In a poem called "The Message" Mrs. Partridge gives voice to a great truth that all poets, artists and men and women of true insight, of genius and imagination, must, we think, often have felt when enjoying the master works of

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MARGARET RIDGELY PARTRIDGE.



Greece, of Italy and of other lands. There is present almost perfection in form and grace, marvelous outpicturing of all that marks man, save that subtle, elusive spiritual quality which we call the soul. To picture this is the august mission of the twentieth century sculpture and artist, and this, we think, is being done to-day in a larger degree than at any other period. Never, we believe, has sculpture brought out the character or conveyed the idea that makes a human being more than something beautiful—the divine light, as it were—as to-day. And as man climbs the spiritual Alps, as his perception of the great eternal verities becomes clearer, this master message of the artist will find fuller and fuller expression. The true poet is ever a prophet, and these stanzas from "The Message" reveal the true prophetic insight:

"Earth still awaits the artist hand
That shall reveal on stone or scroll
The deep, unuttered moods that sweep
Their subtle fires through the soul.

"We see upon the human face
Shadows of things beyond our ken,—
Still unportrayed their silent grace,
Their message still untold to men.

"Artists with god-like skill have wrought
The pageants, passions, deeds of life,
Informed the Parian stone with thought,
Mingled the hues of peace and strife.

"But who, as yet, behind the veil
Of human flesh has wrought so long
That at his master touch the Soul
Becomes the key-board for his song?

"Whose fingers to his chosen art
Transmute the things his insight knows—
The tapestry of mind and heart,
Where fancy blooms and impulse grows—

"To such perfection that the form
Seems but a mould of tissues frail,
Through which the spirit shines alone
As through the chalice shone the Grail.

"The future holds this artist-priest,
Who waits till his divining rod
Shall blossom in the soul of man
And manifest the truths of God."

In "The Children of the Mind" we have a fine poetic concept freighted

with suggestive thoughts exquisitely expressed:

"The children of the Mind! Their steps resound
Along the silent corridors of dream;
Their shining brows with laurel wreaths are bound,
Their eyes with visions beam.

"We speed them to the waiting world—each heart
Full-freighted with its theme of prose or rhyme;
They seek their destined place in every art,
In every land and clime.

"They flash their life upon the storied page,
Fulfilling ill or well their glowing tasks;
They animate with joy or tragic rage
The drama's hollow masks.

"Inspired with sparks of bright Promethean fire
They wake to life the marble's death-like sleep,
Or strike to sapphic strains the lyric lyre
With music sweet and deep.

"Heroic ones there be whose enterprise
Takes form in deeds renowned from pole to pole,
While others bear in consecrated guise
Their message to the soul.

"Children of Thought and Love, immortal twain!
Fair offspring of the soul's profoundest mood—
Who gave ye birth has known the sacred pain
And joy of motherhood."

"Mid-Course" is the title of a poem that is a sermon in itself, carrying as it does a lesson of profound significance—a lesson that we wish could be burned into the consciousness of every young man and women in America to-day. Life's pathway is strewn with wrecks of lives that promised great success and which, if they had pursued some fine ideal with faith and steadfast purpose to attain, would have achieved victory.

"Midway, oftentimes, across life's ocean faring,
The wind that filled our ship's brave sails seems spent,
The heart at anchor lacks its wonted daring,
The hands that steer forget their high intent.

"Star-born adventure, wrecked in indecision!
When ships, however noble, are the sport
Of every storm that mocks in wild derision
The helmsman seeking an uncharted Port.

"O faltering mariner! whose eyes beclouded
May not behold the harbor through the night,
In mists of doubt, in shades of tempests shrouded,
Still guard your early vision of its Light!

"Through dark mid-ocean terrors, specter haunted,
Toward whatsoever land you hold most fair,
Believe—with faith in God and ship undaunted—
The Compass in your soul can guide you there!"

Another fine waif containing an ethical fact of deep import is found in these lines entitled "The Perfect Life":

"Ye who would lead the Perfect Life should pause
And measure well its meed of joy and pain,
Light loves renounced for true love's deeper gain,
Self-sacrifice that scorns the world's applause,
The Mystic Way once taken, that withdraws
The soul from things unlovely or profane,
Against the scented garlands that would chain
A spirit captive to their flowery laws.

"And yet, as ye behold the dark disgrace
Of sordid souls, and their unblessed estate,
Then turning, see some pure uplifted face,
And on those Eastward-fronting brows elate,
That bright, imperishable beauty trace,
Unborn of Earth—how can ye hesitate?"

The true poet-heart goes out to all in need of the strong arm or the loving heart,—all who are groping for the light or are calling for balm for wounds of the soul, with a wealth of feeling that carries help to all who come under the influence of the thought expressed. In the following prayer to the night we have one of these heart cries of the poet nature which are present like threads of gold in the messages of all the finest lives, from before and since the days of the peerless Nazarene:

"Not for myself, Oh ebon skies! this night
My voice would rise beyond thy farthest star.
No quest or hymn of praise hath urged the flight
Of my deep prayer to thy vast depths afar.

"But for the head, bound like Christ's with thorn,
For hands that clasp the cross and bear no crown,
For those who lose the world and know its scorn,
The balm of thy still heights I would call down.

"For souls that waver betwixt thought and deed,
And stand inert amid dim ways that cross,
For lips bereft by doubt of prayer and creed,
For tears that tell some unforgotten loss.

"Bend over these, deep-bosomed Mother, Night!
The weak who falter, and the strong who weep—
From thy deep silences of starry light
Bestow thy peace upon their troubled sleep."

Mrs. Partridge is very versatile. Her poems deal with many themes; with human aspirations and emotions; with life in its varied aspects and the dream that haunts the imagination and floats before us, guiding to the spiritual Canaan as in olden time the shining cloud led

Israel from the bondage and the flesh-pots of Egypt to the Promised Land. At times she gives us fine pictures of the country or suggestive contrasting scenes, in which the spirit that pervades country and city is vividly outlined in a few strong lines. Here are two poems. The first is entitled "Berkshire," and in it we have a charming pen-picture of one of the most picturesque haunts in fair New England:

"I know not if when bridal mists of day
O'erhang the leafy forehead of thy hills,
I like thee best, O place of flowers and may—
Or if when night fulfils

"The whispered promise of her twilight dreams
And folds thee sleeping to her darkened side,
When stars, like fallen comets in thy streams,
Shine through the misty tide—

"Or if when through thy sylvan solitude
Runs rioting the sorcery of spring,
When song is given to every thrush's mood
And life to every wing.

"Thy lands are fairer—or when crowned with gold,
And scarlet robed, the harvest wealth attained,
Thy woodland ways of flying flame unfold,
Flaunting the glory gained.

"But whether blooming or deflowered hills,
The haunting image of thy gracious face
Heightens the laughing hours of joy and fills
The hours of pain with grace.

"Beneath the benison of alien skies,
In lands whose beauty would our love estrange,
Thy charm still holds the fancy and defies
The subtlety of change.

"A vision of the loveliness of things
To carry through the city's crowded mart;
A fadeless memory that blooms and sings
Deep cloistered in the heart."

The companion poem is entitled "Nearing the City." In the first section we see the poet's power as a descriptive artist. Indeed, so vivid in description, so rich in clear-cut imagery are the lines that the reader actually sees and feels the fading away of the charm, glory and witchery of the country as the train rushes into the bustling suburbs of the mighty modern maelstrom we call the city. The last section admirably complements the lines that have gone before and leave a fine feeling with the reader. The country and the city alike have their purpose for

those who have the seeing eye, the strength to become masters rather than to be mastered, and to reflect the best that is resident in the soul:

"The quiet hills stretched far behind,
The swift train cut the broad, green plain
Like some mad stream of impulse blind,
That rushes headlong toward the main.
The peace of apple trees in bloom
No longer wooed the soul to dream,
While songs of hillside brooks made room
For harsher sounds of brass and steam.
The keen electric thrill of life
Rose vibrant through the smoke-veiled air;
Already traffic's noisy strife
Foreboded the unrest of care.
Not ev'n the memory of the thrush
Outpouring lyrics o'er the fold,
Could drown the cries or still the rush
Of those who bartered health for gold.

"Yet in this maze of complex ways,
Where time is all too brief for dreams,
With heart still stirred perchance by days
Spent long ago near willowed streams—
The Child named Thought, who hither came
From guardian hill, from cradling mead,
And learned through God or lure of fame
To master Life—became a Deed."

The following poem entitled "The Dream-Child," which was first published in *Harper's*, has been widely copied and is said to have been the most popular of Mrs. Partridge's little poems:*

"Within encircling arms he lies,
That shelter him from all save love,
Uplifting dream-inspired eyes
In wonderment to smiles above;
The warm gold curls are closely pressed
Against each lonely mother's breast.

"They touch the curls, they see the smile,
They feel the arms that clinging, bless—
These wistful mothers, who, the while
In joy, their phantom babes caress;
As Mary, by the Christ-Child's side,
Each keeps eternal Christmas-tide.

"It may be they shall never know
Save in fair dreams this child embrace,
That their full love must ever flow
In fancy round a silent space—
Their lips bestow their treasure where
The blessed vision fades to air!

"Yet cradled against Age and Death
Each holds her dream-child sweet and warm;
Time cannot still the slumbering breath,
No grave shall change the rounded form—
Deep cloistered in the mother heart,
What Fate can breast and dream-child part!"

*From *Harper's Magazine*. Copyright, 1906, by Harper & Brothers.

Here is a little heart-song that will appeal to almost all readers:

"Salt whistling wind for the home-turned sail,
The siren song for the sea,
The nightingale for the lotus vale,—
But the voice of my love for me!

"The lighthouse flame for the angry deep,
The star for the twilight tree,
The flashing dream through the mists of sleep,
But the eyes of my love for me!

"The buried pearl for the ocean bed,
The egg for the tree-swung nest,
Rare gems and gold for the crowned head—
But the heart of my love is best!

"Oh heart of my love! Oh voice, Oh eyes!
All gifts of the world to me
Are as ropes of sand, since I've found life's prize
And its star and its song in Thee!"

Mrs. Partridge has many ancestors whose lives have been and are a source of constant inspiration, teaching lessons of loyalty to ideals and the patriot's high duty, constancy to friends in time of peril, and other lessons which render precious those who journey with us on life's road. Her great-great-great-grandfather was Chancellor Livingstone, who held the Bible by which George Washington was sworn into office. Her great-grandfather was Commodore Ridgely of Baltimore. Another ancestor from whom she is directly descended was Katherine Douglass, or the Kate Barlass of Rossetti's poem, the lady-in-waiting to James the Second's Queen, who by making her arm serve as a bolt through the iron bars of the door saved the King's life, giving him time to escape from his enemies.

But our poet is a true American. She holds with Bulwer that

"Not to the past, but to the future looks true nobility,
And reads its blazon in posterity."

She is a woman of modesty, refinement and culture. She has traveled extensively and being a student and lover of art has utilized her opportunities to enjoy the wealth of the world's art creations that are accessible to the traveler in the great centers of the Old World,

even extending her quest for the beautiful from the world-famed ancient art centers to the galleries of Russia, Scandinavia and Finland. This education has naturally broadened and enriched her imaginative vision.

From early childhood she evinced a passion for poetry. In reply to a question we recently asked, she said:

"Poetry I have always read and loved, I might say from the time when I was but four years old and could repeat almost half of 'Locksley Hall.' My first poem, 'The Battle of Trenton,' of seventy-four lines, was published when I was fourteen, in the *Mail and Express*, having won a prize in that paper. During the ensuing years I wrote when the call came, frequently publishing in the minor magazines, but without any serious or definite aim. It has been only during these last few years that I have been conscious of the message of my poetry and of a sacred duty to fulfil in giving my gift, however small, to the world. This purpose and determination are growing daily with my growth, as is also the conviction that poetry must more and more reflect the *perfect*, the joyous, the hopeful and inspirational moods of life and character, and cut out the suggestions of sorrow, melancholy, and the subtle shadows of the soul's moods, if the poets of to-day would be *constructive*, uplifting and a true inspiration to their times."

Her recent poems have appeared in leading and popular magazines, chiefly in *Harper's*, *The Century* and *Scribner's*. Some have appeared in *Lippincott's* and *Munsey's*.

There is noticeable in her work a steady growth, not only in literary excellence but in the thought and purpose underlying the creations. This is doubtless due to the steady unfoldment of character, the constant awakening to the graver and grander meaning of life; and we imagine the congenial companionship which she enjoys with her husband, the famous sculptor, William Ordway Partridge, is also a never-failing source of inspiration, for Mr. Partridge is not only one of the most gifted sculptors of America, but he is also a true poet, a man of imagination and of heart, whose fine humanitarian feeling is only equalled by his love of the beautiful in all its varied aspects. We close this little sketch with a magnificent tribute of pure love which we imagine was inspired by the poet's artist-lover, who is also husband, councillor and sympathetic critic, whose judgment is most highly prized by the devoted wife. The stanzas are entitled "I Take Thee As Thou Art."

"I take thee as thou art, O great of soul!
A friend that Life's deep tides have drawn to me,
Nor, envious, seek to know the joy or dole
That shaped thee to such wondrous symmetry;
By what lone ways thy spirit reached those heights
Where all the great of soul forever are,
What love upheld, what sorrow vexed thy nights—
It is enough to feel thee there—a star!

"Life turned thee on his circling wheel of Time,
Till forth thou camest from the dreams, the strife
As some creation of a thought sublime
That ever haunts an artist, wakes to life
The senseless marble, and mid hopes and fears,
Stands out, a Truth against the clinging clod—
So I behold thee, graven from the years,
Freed from their bondage by the hand of God."

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

WILL PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP INCREASE OR DIMINISH POLITICAL CORRUPTION.

BY CLARENCE ARTHUR ROYSE.

THAT our political and business world is pregnant with far-reaching and fundamental reforms, that democracy is engaged in a titanic struggle with plutocracy, requires no argument. Our newspapers and magazines are filled with evidences of a moral awakening, investigation follows investigation disclosing the extent to which monopoly has grown and the imperative need of action if we would escape a condition of industrial feudalism. It is generally agreed that the eighteenth century doctrine of *laissez faire*, the notion that that government is best which governs least, must be definitely abandoned. That doctrine developed from an industrial system of individual, unorganized effort and a conception of government as a thing imposed on the people by a superior, privileged class. The conception of government as the organized coöperation of the whole people is the achievement of the nineteenth century, but it is a conception which now generally prevails; and the perfection of the democratic principle as well as the liberty and welfare of the individual, are now threatened, not by a political aristocracy but by an industrial oligarchy. Competition has ended in combination; the opportunity of the great majority and the vast and growing wealth of the nation are being absorbed by a diminishing group composed of the owners of privilege and monopoly. How to avert this movement is the problem that confronts the twentieth century.

No one, except the hired defenders of privilege, now suggest that we can safely trust any longer to the simple right of private contract and to the benevolence and sense of fairness of men who possess a monopoly control of our great systems

of transportation, of the necessary means of urban life, and the great natural sources of our national wealth. Everywhere the principle of control by the people, acting through the law, is applied. More and more experience is demonstrating that mere regulation of monopolies is not effectual. The combinations of wealth and power become too great. They corrupt and seize our government, they control and direct our organs of public opinion, they drug our moral sense by their huge philanthropies. We pass through a tremendous agitation and with a great effort and under the leadership of some powerful personality we achieve a law that can be characterized only as a step in the right direction; and then a "joker" is discovered that undoes the work, or a court is found to set it aside, or a weak or corrupt official fails to execute the law; and when we wake up to the true situation the monopoly has grown like the fabled bean-stalk.

By repeated failures in our effort to regulate trusts and monopolies, we are driven to consider the wisdom of public-ownership. As yet the American people as a whole look with suspicion on the public-ownership and operation of business enterprises. The idea makes its way slowly. It is looked upon as an innovation that is dangerous. The great business interests, intent on retaining their powers and privileges, systematically conduct a campaign of misrepresentation and corrupt the public press, and of the common people themselves, many regard it as a measure of last resort, and others honestly believe that the remedy would be worse than the disease.

When William J. Bryan returned from Europe and fresh from a study of conditions there, ventured the very mild

opinion that if railway regulation should prove ineffective to correct railway abuses then it would be well to resort to public-ownership, his statement called forth dissent from almost the entire press of the country. The only objection urged against his suggestion that is worthy of attention and the objection that is always repeated by those who oppose public-ownership, was the objection of our political corruption and the spoils system. That is supposed to be an unanswerable argument, an insuperable obstacle, the obvious and self-evident reason why public-ownership is bound to be a failure in this country, whatever the experience of other countries may be. When overwhelming evidence is furnished of the great success of public-ownership in England, Germany, New Zealand and elsewhere, the answer always is that the conditions in this country are so different that foreign examples are worthless and the difference lies in our corrupt politics.

The assumption is made that the American people are naturally and necessarily corrupt and that little or no improvement can be expected, whereas the people of England are honest and public-spirited. Further it is assumed that corruption, the spoils system, the partisan machine run by the boss are somehow the natural outgrowth of democratic institutions, that these constitute the price we pay for the privilege of self-government and that Europe succeeds in public-ownership because she is committed to the monarchical system.

It is of the greatest importance that the basis for these assumptions should be examined with care and to that end it is necessary to consider the experience of England as to corruption and the spoils system at former periods of her history and at the present time, to ascertain if possible the reasons for her present superiority, and to compare the history of England with the history of America in this respect.

Until the time of the Revolution of

1688 the King, assisted by his courtiers who enjoyed the royal favor, ruled the land for their own profit. The theory was that the government belonged to the king, it was his by divine right and he was responsible to no earthly power. For many ages the king was the state, the land and the people were his, he threw to his favorites honors, manors, pensions, monopolies, according to his pleasure and by the same token he revoked them. The history of those ages is occupied with quarrels among the nobles for the privilege of plundering the people. Justice, economy of administration, the personal worth of the citizen were nothing. After the government was differentiated into departments, the ministers were responsible to the king alone and he disposed of the revenues, of sentences, pardons, offices, monopolies and estates in the wanton exercise of authority, for money, or so as to strengthen and fortify his power or that of his friends. There was practically no change in this respect until the time of William III., although protests were made from time to time. Watt Tyler led a rebellion in 1377 and this was followed in the next century by an outbreak under Jack Cade but these revolts of the people were quickly suppressed. From time to time disaffected nobles extorted a share of power and occasionally statutes were passed to forbid abuses, but the abuses continued. However the statutes reveal the character of the corruption that was common at the time and disclose the fact that all our modern abuses were well known many centuries ago. As parliament gradually acquired importance the king used honors, pensions and the patronage of office to control parliament.

In our own day we can still observe in the Russian empire the spoils system carried to its extreme development, all the powers of government exercised without responsibility for the advantage of the sovereign and the privileged class. Dorman B. Eaton in his history of the English civil-service well says, speaking

of corruption in the United States, that "our spoils system is only a faint reproduction in an uncongenial age and government of vicious methods, of which the coarse and more corrupt originals are to be found in the most despotic periods of English history. It is in fact that part of medieval despotism, inherited by us, which we have allowed to survive." (*Civil Service in Great Britain*, by Dorman B. Eaton, p. 41.)

The extent to which corruption was carried by the Stuarts and the steady employing of every influence by James II. to restore the Catholic religion ended in the Revolution of 1688. Henceforth parliament held the nation's purse-strings, the worst abuses of the royal prerogative were cut off and the patronage that was taken from the king passed to the dominant party in parliament. From the reign of Anne to the Reform Bill of 1832 England was governed by the powerful aristocratic families and the means steadily employed to secure and retain their power was the influence of bribery. Seats in the House of Commons were owned outright by great lords and were filled with their nominees or were sold in the market; where the borough was not owned absolutely the election was carried by bribery, intimidation and fraud; members of parliament when seated were influenced to support the ministry or the king by patronage, pensions, honors, and direct bribes of money; every office in the civil service, in the army and navy, in the church and the colonial service, was treated as spoils to be dispensed by favor or for a consideration and for the private advantage of those in authority.

Sir Thomas Erskine May, the distinguished historian of this period of English constitutional development tells us that in some towns the right of election was vested in a bailiff and twelve burgesses as at Buckingham and Bewdley, that at Bath election was by the mayor, ten aldermen and twenty-four councilmen, at Salisbury by a mayor and cor-

poration of 56 persons. In other boroughs the franchise was more liberal but there were few inhabitants; for instance in Gatton and St. Michael there were seven electors and in Tavistock ten. "Seventy members were returned by thirty-five places with scarcely any electors; ninety members by forty-six places with less than fifty electors; and thirty-seven members were returned by nineteen places with not more than one hundred electors. Such places were returning members while Leeds, Birmingham and Manchester were unrepresented; and the members whom they sent to parliament were the nominees of peers and other wealthy patrons. The Duke of Norfolk was represented by eleven members; Lord Lonsdale by nine; Lord Darlington by seven; the Duke of Rutland, the Marquis of Buckingham and Lord Carrington, each by six. Seats were held in both houses alike by hereditary right." (*May's Const. Hist.*, Vol. I., p. 267.)

Only a few instances can be mentioned of the bribery and corruption which were the universal and recognized practice of the day. In the middle of the eighteenth century the landed gentry complained bitterly of the entry into parliament of "nabobs" who had amassed great fortunes in the East and West Indies and who had the effrontery to buy seats that of right belonged to the landed aristocracy. Speaking of them Lord Chatham said: "Without connections, without any natural interest in the soil, the importers of foreign gold have forced their way into parliament by such a torrent of corruption as no private hereditary fortune could resist." (*May*, Vol. I., p. 269.) In 1762 pecuniary penalties for bribery were first enforced but the object appears to have been not to purify elections but to preserve the boroughs for their owners, and of course the law was ineffectual to stop the practice. Sudbury, long infamous for its corruption, publicly advertised itself for sale and Oxford in the

election of 1768 offered to reflect its two representatives on payment of the bonded debt amounting to \$28,350. The members refused and the Mayor and Aldermen were imprisoned for a short time in Newgate and while in prison completed a bargain for the sale of their city to the Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Abingdon. "Meanwhile," says Sir Thomas Erskine May, "the town clerk carried off the books of the corporation which contained the evidence of the bargain; and the business was laughed at and forgotten." (May, Vol. I., p. 271.) Lugdershall was sold by its owner for \$45,000 and the general price of boroughs was raised from \$12,500 to \$20,000 and \$30,000 by the competition of the nabobs. There were contests between the great lords for boroughs that cost vast sums. Lord Spencer spent \$350,000 contesting his borough and for his election contest. The following extract from the diary of Sir Samuel Romilly, writing in 1807, well illustrates the situation: "Tierney, who manages this business for the friends of the late administration, assures me that he can hear of no seat to be disposed of. He has offered \$50,000 for the two seats of Westbury, the property of the late Lord Abingdon and which are to be made the most of by the trustees for creditors and has met with a refusal. The truth is that the new ministers have bought up all the seats that were to be disposed of and at any prices. Amongst others, Sir C. H., the great dealer in boroughs, has sold all he had to the ministers. With what money all this is done I know not, but it is supposed that the king, who has greatly at heart to preserve this new administration, has advanced a very large sum out of his privy purse. This buying of seats is detestable; and yet it is almost the only way in which one in my situation, who is resolved to be an independent man, can get into parliament. To come in by popular election, in the present state of representation is quite impossible; to

be placed there by some great lord and to vote as he shall direct is to be in a state of complete dependence; and nothing hardly remains but to owe a seat to the sacrifice of a part of one's fortune." (*Life of Sir S. Romilly*, Vol. 2, p. 200.) This man, who was in fact a pure and patriotic statesman, afterwards bought his seat for \$10,000 in order to preserve his independence.

In Scotland the farce of elections was even more monstrous and the following grotesque case was related in parliament in 1831 by the Lord Advocate. In the County of Bute with 14,000 inhabitants there were twenty-one electors of whom only one resided in the county. At the election this one elector attended, called the meeting to order, called the roll and answered present, elected himself chairman, moved and seconded his own nomination and was unanimously returned. (May, Vol. I., p. 286.)

Such being the condition of parliamentary elections, the members naturally made full use of their positions to reimburse themselves and to gorge themselves at the public expense and the king and ministers habitually used money, places, government contracts, lotteries, loans—every species of corrupt influence to gain their ends. The evil of placemen holding seats in parliament was so threatening that laws were repeatedly enacted excluding customs officers, government contractors, pensioners and judges from parliament. The names of Walpole, Newcastle, Bute and North are synonymous with the ideas of corruption and bribery reduced to a system, a theory of government. Horace Walpole relates that in December, 1762, Mr. Fox, the lieutenant of Lord Bute, opened a shop in the Pay Office whither the members flocked and received the wages of their venality in bank bills even to so low a sum as \$1,000 for their votes on the treaty. \$125,000 was spent in one morning, and the truth of this story is corroborated by other testimony. (May, Vol. I., p. 302.) The secret-service fund

was used in vast sums without any accounting and most of it went for the corruption of parliament.

Government loans were issued to favored persons and members of parliament, and at once rose to a premium. Of such a loan Sir Thomas May says, "The participation of many members in the profits of this iniquitous loan could not be concealed; and little pains were taken to deny it. Stock-jobbing became the fashion and many members of parliament were notoriously concerned in it." (May, Vol. I., p. 305.) In 1781 Lord North issued a loan of \$60,000,000 for the American war, which at once commanded a premium of 11 per cent. It was computed by Mr. Fox that a profit of \$4,500,000 was derived from the loan and by others that half the loan was subscribed for by members of the House of Commons. Lord Rockingham said "the loan was made merely for the purpose of corrupting parliament to support a wicked, impolitic and ruinous war." (May, Vol. I., p. 306.)

A perusal of these historical records might lead one to suppose that reform was hopeless and that there was no way to overthrow a corrupt machine so firmly entrenched in power. Nevertheless, during all this time, the forces of reform and the will of the people were not entirely dead. Public opinion from time to time did make itself heard, the freedom of the press was after a long struggle achieved, parliamentary debates were finally made public and the principle of responsibility to the people was gradually established. James II., with the advantage of every corrupt influence, could not resist an outraged people when they were finally aroused; again Walpole, the great master of corrupt parliamentary methods, was driven at last from power; and again Lord Bute and later Lord North, each the boss of what seemed a perfect political machine, had to yield to an indignant and long suffering people. Through the perplex-

ing changes of ministry during the long reign of George III. is perceived a gradual awakening of a sense of political justice and the dawning of the spirit of democracy which in the nineteenth century has so thoroughly transformed the English people and their government. The growing demands for reform voiced by Rockingham, Burke, Fox, Wilkes and their contemporaries were silenced for a generation by the insane fear of revolution inspired by the events in France. Then followed the long Napoleonic wars. When the country was again at peace the corrupt conditions in the government cried aloud for redress. The industrial revolution was in full progress, the old days of hand labor and rural life were gone forever, steam and machinery were well started on their triumphant progress that was to astonish the world, the great manufacturing cities were growing at a marvelous rate, wealth was increasing in geometrical ratio; but the condition of the laboring classes reached its lowest depths. Poverty grew more intense, the cities unprepared for their sudden growth could only crowd the people into vile slums, the death-rate and the poor-rates suddenly rose, misery was everywhere, all the horrors that preceded the era of reform were driving the people to revolt. The first reform on which all others depended was parliamentary reform and at last, after the greatest internal struggle England has ever known, after riots and the angry demands of the people had brought the nation to the brink of revolution, the privileged aristocracy was forced to yield and the great reform bill was passed. The direct bribery of members of parliament with cash had ceased with the ministry of the younger Pitt and the reform bill did away with the nomination boroughs but political corruption was only scotched, not killed. Bribery at elections continued with little abatement in spite of laws passed to restrain it for more than a half-century and the

spoils system of appointment to office continued to flourish until within the present generation.

The disastrous Crimean war and the scandals it brought to light, and the revolutionary movement of 1848, which exercised such a powerful influence throughout Europe, compelled a reform in the government departments and Lord John Russell appointed a commission in 1849 to examine the condition of the civil service. This commission headed by Sir Charles Trevelyan and Sir Stafford Northcote, made an exhaustive investigation extending over five years and submitted an able and elaborate report which is a land-mark in English history. The report showed that the service was filled with the lazy and incompetent; that political favor and seniority were the only qualifications for office; in short it showed a spoils system worse than was ever tolerated in the United States. An executive order in council was adopted in 1855 creating a civil-service commission and providing for examinations, but the heads of departments still could determine how far the rules should be extended and the examinations were not by open competition, but three candidates were appointed to the examinations for each office. Nevertheless, the pressure of public opinion gradually brought more of the civil service under the rules and at last in 1870 another order in council established open competition, the civil-service rules were made to cover practically the entire government service and the merit system was finally and permanently adopted. The same principle is in full operation in India, Canada and all the colonies. The spoils system is absent in England not because the English people were not familiar with it, nor because it did not naturally belong to the monarchical system, nor because our English cousins are more moral and patriotic than we. It has been superseded because the vast growth of the functions of the state in

this modern era, the great extent, complexity and importance of government operations as compared with former periods, are incompatible with the old corrupt method, and because the growing intelligence of the people, the general advance of popular rights and the principle of governmental responsibility to the people, the spirit of modern democracy has forced the adoption of honest and efficient administrative methods.

Bribery at elections, intimidation and coercion by landlords, priests and employers persisted even longer. In 1854 a Corrupt Practices Act was passed defining election crimes and providing penalties. In 1872 the Ballot law was passed establishing the Australian ballot system and it was thought that this would correct the abuses, but the English politicians were no more scrupulous in obeying the law than their brothers in America, and the law was not enforced. There was no efficient way to secure evidence, there were many ways to avoid the penalties, and if one only secured the election he was willing to take the chance of a possible prosecution. Nevertheless, the modern spirit among the people would not tolerate permanently a situation where the results of a great campaign, the expressed will of the people, could be set aside by corruption at the polls. With the election of 1880 Mr. Gladstone became prime minister and the attorney-general in his cabinet was Sir Henry James. He prepared and introduced a Corrupt Practices Act which became a law in 1882 and which has actually banished corruption in every form from parliamentary elections. The objects of the bill, as explained by Sir Henry James (*Forum*, Apr., 1893, Vol. 15, p. 129), were to consolidate the laws against corrupt practices, to check corruption by punishing offenders, to render detection certain and easy, to abolish or reduce paid agency and to limit expenditures. The law is very elaborate and complete. It defines in the most comprehensive way the four

principle offenses of bribery, treating, undue influence and personation. Every possible guise under which the law might be evaded is carefully provided against. The law provides just how much may be spent for election expenses, that it must all be spent by the candidate or his duly appointed agent, the exact purposes for which it may be spent and for a full accounting under oath with vouchers for every disbursement. The number of halls and committee rooms that may be rented is limited, the amount and character of advertising is prescribed, the expenditure of any money for conveyance of voters to the polls is forbidden, and all election agents are disfranchised. The law provides full penalties, by fine and imprisonment, for every violation but the feature of the law which abolished corruption and made the law effective was the provision that a violation of the law, shown either in a criminal proceeding or a contest for the office on an election petition, should forfeit the election and give the seat to the opposing candidate. This result follows even though the corrupt practice is committed by an agent and without the knowledge of the candidate. Bribery or personation by a candidate or with his knowledge and consent further forever disqualifies the candidate from sitting in the House of Commons and a violation of the provisions as to expenditures, called an "illegal practice," by a candidate renders him ineligible for seven years and his election void. Further, if the illegal expenditure is made by an agent the election is void and the candidate ineligible for that parliament. The law at once made each side zealous to discover and prove a violation by the opposition and caused each party manager to be eager to instruct all party workers as to the law and to warn them against any violation even if unintentional. At once corrupt practices ceased to exist in most localities and vastly diminished everywhere. It is to the interest now of the candidate to keep down expenditures.

If one side does not spend the other does not have to. Occasionally an over-zealous politician will still take a chance and overstep the law but he is usually detected and the risk is so great that such a course is everywhere discouraged and, practically speaking, corruption in elections has ceased. As said by the author of the law, "popularity now receives its true reward and cannot be counteracted by the effect of money expenditure," and further, "a corrupt class has been banished from the scenes of political contests and zealous and enthusiastic bands of assistants substituted for it." (*Forum*, Apr., 1893.) This result is commended to the consideration of those who belittle legislation and declare we have law enough if it only were enforced. There are two elements in reform; first, a public opinion that is educated and aroused, and second, and quite as essential, is a piece of legal machinery that is efficient to express and execute the public will. Public opinion is impotent until it issues in the enactment of an adequate law as comprehensive and complete as the evil to which it is directed.

The history of municipal corruption and reform in England discloses a striking parallel to parliamentary conditions. Municipalities in England grew in a haphazard way in the midst of rural communities. The vestry in each parish exercised certain local governmental functions and with the growth of trade-guilds and merchant-guilds municipal control was vested in them. In ancient times all the inhabitants paying taxes had a voice but the guilds or city companies became self-perpetuating close corporations and the wealthy and influential gradually assumed all power and by the close of the fifteenth century this usurpation was complete. After the time of Henry VII., the king, in order to secure his revenue and strengthen his power, granted charters of incorporation to the towns, the power being vested in a mayor and aldermen, appointed in the first instance by the crown and then

self-elected. The organization and the powers granted differed in the various towns. Occasionally some noble in local central did give a fairly benevolent government but the prevailing type of local government is described by May as follows: "Neglecting their proper functions, the superintendence of police, the management of jails, the paving and lighting of streets and supply of water, they thought only of the personal interests attached to office. They grasped all patronage, lay and ecclesiastical for their relatives, friends and political partisans, and wasted the corporate funds in greasy and vulgar revelry. Many towns were absolutely insolvent. Charities were despoiled and public trusts neglected and misapplied; jobbery and corruption in every form were fostered." Speaking of Scotch towns, where the same conditions prevailed, he says: "The property was corruptly alienated and despoiled; sold to nobles and favored persons at inadequate prices; leased at nominal rents to members of the council and improvidently charged with debts. The revenues were wasted in extravagant salaries, jobbing contracts, public works executed at an exorbitant cost, and in civic entertainments. Incompetent persons and even boys were appointed to offices of trust. At Torfar, an idiot performed for twenty years the responsible duties of town clerk." (May, Vol. 2, p. 471.) The following is the testimony of Dr. Albert Shaw in his well-known book on English municipal government: "The municipalities became in large part a vested interest, held in a few hands and used corruptly and wickedly to demoralize politics and misgovern the nation. The mortality became a fearful thing. Epidemic diseases could not be controlled and cleanliness was a physical impossibility. The streets were abominable. Efficient services of water, drainage and illumination were of course wholly lacking. There were no schools worth mentioning, no libraries, almost no civilizing agencies

whatever." (*Municipal Government in Great Britain*, pp. 23-25.)

After the reform of Parliament in 1832 the reformation of the municipalities was at once taken up. A commission conducted an investigation and in 1835 the Municipal Corporations Act was passed which provided a municipal charter for 178 boroughs and since then 125 others have been created. After a half-century of experience the law with its various amendments was codified in 1882, but the general plan of organization remained the same, and this law is still in force. The voters, including practically all adults who have a fixed abode, including women who pay taxes but excluding paupers, elect the members of the common council for a term of three years, the number varying with the size of the town; the councillors add to their number one-half as many aldermen elected for six years and both classes sit and act as one body. If a councilman is made an alderman a successor in the council is elected. The aldermen and councilmen together elect the mayor for one year, usually but not necessarily from their own number. The mayor is usually a man who has rendered distinguished service in the council for many years, his position being one of great honor and influence but little independent power. The mayor has no appointing power and no veto. The council appoints its own committees, who take charge of the various departments, appoint the heads of departments and carry on the executive work of the city, reporting to the entire council, and the mayor is ex-officio a member of every committee. The law includes the same safeguards for elections as are provided for parliamentary elections. As to this Dr. Shaw remarks: "It is enough, perhaps, to say that these bristling regulations, which hedge about the election of town councillors with as formidable defenses as those that guard parliamentary elections are absolutely efficacious." (Shaw's *Municipal Government in Great*

Britain, p. 34.) Mention should be made also of the method of nominating candidates both for the town council and parliament. No conventions and no primary elections are held, but anyone may be placed on the official ballot by filing a nomination paper signed by a proposer and seconder and eight other voters. This has the effect of keeping the national parties out of local politics, it is an effective safeguard against machine-rule and is the most important feature of the Australian ballot system.

The universal testimony is that corruption, bribery, favoritism, and graft are to-day non-existent in English municipalities. Evidence on this subject is not necessary, because the most severe critics of public-ownership admit that England is free from these abuses and allege that fact as the very reason why we cannot follow her example in the matter of public-ownership. The best talent in the cities is enlisted in the municipal service, public office carries with it great honor and the vast business of the cities is carried on by men from all grades of society and with economy, intelligence, honesty and a local pride in municipal achievements.

The causes of this condition of administrative efficiency are not difficult to discover. It will be observed that corruption flourished in the old days when the government governed least, when nearly everything was left to private initiative. There was a time when even war was a private business, when the collection of taxes was let out to farmers-general, when the administration of justice was a private franchise, and then privilege and despotism were supreme. The course of history from one point-of-view consists of the gradual enlargement of the functions of government and each step in this direction has enlarged the liberty and opportunity of the individual. In this modern era both the national and local governments perform a thousand new functions made necessary by our modern civilization, the individual has a

constant and intimate relation with the work of public officials and the situation itself demands strict responsibility, efficiency and honesty. The other great cause of the overthrow of corruption is the spirit of modern democracy, the idea that the government exists for the sake of the people and to secure to them life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The spoils system is as out of harmony with the modern world as the ancient government of the people, by the privileged classes, for their private advantage which gave it birth.

That bribery and graft flourish in the United States is apparent although the worst abuses of Philadelphia, New York, Cincinnati and St. Louis appear mild when compared with the practice that was formerly universal in England. No extended account of American political corruption is necessary for it is admitted by every one and the details are available in every magazine and newspaper. Not every charge of corrupt dealing of course is made in good faith and supported by facts. The sensational and reckless newspaper reporter is abroad; and moreover a favorite method, used by guilty men to distract attention from themselves and confuse the public mind, is to make false charges against the innocent. Every faithful officer should be protected by public opinion quite as zealously as the unfaithful should be exposed and held to account. Every case of wrong-doing must stand on its own evidence and further, the evil complained of is not so much a matter of personal wrong-doing as of maintaining a vicious system, by which disloyalty is made easy and profitable. But the fact that false charges are sometimes made is no reason why real wrong-doing should not be exposed. The fact that the real thief raises the false cry of "stop thief!" should not secure the guilty person from arrest and punishment. In each case due diligence and caution should be combined, that is all. Abundant and undeniable evidence does justify the

statement, not that our politicians and business men are all corrupt, but that political and business corruption are painfully and dangerously common and that the power of privilege in private hands has in large measure transformed our democracy, representative of the people, and rendered necessary what Mr. Steffens calls a new struggle to restore self-government.

In the early days of the Republic, the wealth of the country was small and fairly well distributed, the government was a small concern and the public employes were few. The principle of equal rights for all, special privileges to none, on which our nation was founded, for a time served to keep us in the main above the spoils system although Hamilton succeeded in planting the seeds of privilege and setting the example of legislation by and for the rich and favored classes of society, which seed has borne abundant fruit. Under Jackson the spoils system of appointing federal office-holders was established and the growing wealth of the country brought a steady increase of abuses, but corruption and the spoils system did not reach their full development until the period following the Civil War. That was a period of expansion and speculation and of rapid industrial development and it was the period also of Star Route scandals, of Whiskey Ring scandals, of imperial grants of land to railways, of the Tweed régime in New York, of the real beginning of our political machines in the various states and the foundation of our great private fortunes. At the same time when England was developing her system of administrative efficiency, overthrowing her age-old practice of bribery and corruption and bringing in the modern era of democracy, America was permitting her original democracy to be replaced by corruption and privilege. We have been so proud of our industrial achievements, that we have showered our captains of industry with franchises, powers and privileges and loaded them with wealth and failed to see that they

were working a revolution in our government. We have praised the business man and have blamed the politician. When brought face to face with corrupt conditions, we have deplored the apathy of the good citizens and have put the responsibility on the politician and his miserable allies the saloon keeper and gambler. To-day a great awakening to the true cause of our trouble is taking place. Our reporters and social investigators have laid bare the shame of the cities and placed the blame where it belongs and have shown that our real task is not to put out of business the vulgar law-breaker but to restore self-government. In the city, in the state and in the nation the true source of political corruption is seen to be the big business man, the man of whom we have been so proud, the prominent and respected citizen. The great source of wealth is privilege and to obtain and protect privileges and franchises, the machine, the boss and the legislative agent are maintained and supported, alliances are made with vulgar thieves and gamblers, lobbies are kept about our legislative halls, governors and senators are made and unmade, the press is purchased and the church and college subsidized.

Mr. Lincoln Steffens says that when he began to write his articles on the *Shame of the Cities* he meant to show how the people were betrayed and deceived by the politician, but that in his first study of St. Louis the startling truth lay bare that corruption was not merely political, it was financial, commercial and social, its ramifications were complex and far-reaching. In St. Louis and Minneapolis and Philadelphia, wherever a reform movement has taken place the most significant fact was the high class of citizens who openly or secretly defended and supported the boodler, the briber and the blackmailer.

There are two kinds of graft in our cities and each is supported by the other. One kind may be called police graft, and this leads one down among the

dregs of society, it is vulgar and shocking, and, without support from the men higher up, it could not long stand against public opinion. Reform of this kind of graft is called achieving good government. The other kind of graft is financial, it leads one up to our leading business men, our respectable bankers, lawyers and corporation officials, the pillars of society and the church, and from them to their employes their friends and associates, all who are connected with them or dependent upon them for employment, for business or for assistance in favorite philanthropies. Reform of this kind of graft is called restoring self-government.

The chief source of corruption then is business graft, the tremendous stake of the promoter and the financier in obtaining private privileges from the government. Obviously the method of reform is to destroy the source of corruption, the private-ownership of monopolies and franchise privileges. Regulation has been tried, and of course the fullest possible relief from regulation must be insisted on until a more complete justice is possible, but regulation leaves at work the source of the trouble. The private monopolist still has the same interest and a stronger interest the more strict the control, in preserving his franchises, in combating the public and in entering and corrupting politics to control governmental agencies. The same objection applies to public-ownership with private operation under leases. The "interests" have the same inducement to obtain favorable leases and to escape the fulfilment of onerous conditions as they have to obtain favorable franchises.

The fear of increasing the number of public employes, of corrupting our politics and strengthening the spoils system need alarm no one. It is true there is a possibility that the civil service may be filled by favor and not by merit and efficiency, and that extravagance and incompetence may mark public administration and that one source of corrup-

tion, the salaries of public officials, would still remain. Public-ownership is no panacea for all the ills of government. It is not a trick device which can be adopted and which will run itself and will exclude the possibility of further trouble. Each generation will continue to face its own problems. Nevertheless, public-ownership would do one thing among others. It would eliminate the chief source of corruption and would open the way for the correction of the spoils system, for the suppression of police graft, for the development of municipal experts. It would certainly not introduce the public utilities into politics. They are unfortunately already there. It would not increase corruption and the spoils system for two reasons: first, because our most influential and capable citizens would no longer have this tremendous stake in corrupt and disloyal public servants, the antagonism between the private welfare of the most influential class in the community and the public welfare would no longer exist; and second, because public-ownership would bring with it and make easy the means of correcting its own particular possibilities of evil. Public opinion would have a free chance to compel not merely common honesty but efficiency and skill. The increased stake of the people in governmental action, the intimate dependence of each citizen on the public utilities taken over, the direct connections between each man's pocketbook and the conduct of public officials and the honest pride that the people take in their own property and the development of their own business, will result in a civil service based on the merit system. No one proposes public-ownership to be run without restraint or accounting by an irresponsible political machine. Even that, as shown by actual experience in the St. Louis and Philadelphia water-works and in many other cases results in a vast saving to the people as compared with private-ownership. But the reform suggested is public-ownership accompanied by the merit system,

by the most approved methods of accounting, and a full responsibility to the people; and the assertion is made, based on abundant experience, that public-ownership naturally brings with it a progressive development of these safeguards. Our legal notions of property rights produce this result. We always admit that the private-owner of a public utility who has his money invested in it is rightfully entitled to all the profit and private advantage he can secure so long as he keeps within the letter of his legal rights. On the other hand, when the public utility becomes the property of the people, the people are rightfully entitled to all the profit and the full benefit of their own property and they cannot be deprived of it without an actual and positive malfeasance in office. Those who oppose public-ownership say reform the civil service and banish corruption, if you can, first, and then consider public-ownership. This means that we are to preserve the chief cause of corruption until we have banished its natural fruits. It is like the mother's advice to her son to learn to swim before going into the water. The truth is that the same public opinion, the same awakened civic conscience, which will rebel against the evils of private monopoly and demand public-ownership, will also demand efficient and honest service from public servants. The necessary conclusion from a study of corruption both in England and the United States is that expanded government functions and the principle of government responsibility develop together. In this country as in England the spoils system of making federal appointments became intolerable as the importance and complexity of government business increased and the civil service was accordingly reformed. The condition of the service is not perfect but public opinion requires and produces continual improvement and to-day more than half of the \$90,000 federal employés are in the classified service, many cities have adopted a similar system

and the spoils system is everywhere in disfavor and is slowly but steadily yielding to an enlightened public conscience. The significant thing in our politics is not the point to which democracy has arrived but the direction in which it is marching; not the democracy of to-day but the democracy of to-morrow.

This sketch of political corruption in England does not imply by any means that England is free from privilege and all forms of graft. *Ça ira*—it will go—that is all. She still has her house of lords, her land and great industrial wealth is still owned by a small and powerful class, the private beneficiaries of franchises and tax exemptions and land monopoly still absorb the fruits of her industry in undue measure, but the way is open for the future and the future belongs to the people. England *has* reformed her civil service, she *has* secured honest elections, she *has* administered her various municipal enterprises with economy and skill and strict integrity, to the great and manifest advantage of her people. A very little historical information is sufficient to show that this is true not because the English are more moral than we, certainly not because she was unfamiliar with corruption, nor because a monarchical and aristocratic form of government does not breed selfishness and the abuse of power. The exact opposite is the obvious and undeniable fact. Privilege, monopoly and the spoils system are the inherited remnant of a despotism that must wholly yield to the triumphant advance of democracy. The example of England in the expansion of governmental functions, so far from being inapplicable to political conditions in the United States points the path along which lie, not only the economic and social advantages of public-ownership, but also the restoration of self-government and the overthrow of political corruption.

CLARENCE ARTHUR ROYSE.

Terre Haute, Indiana.

SAINT GAUDENS: AMERICA'S GREATEST SCULPTOR.

BY F. EDWIN ELWELL.

THERE is on the wall of the hemicycle, in the famous College of Fine Arts (*École des Beaux Arts*) at Paris, France, a great painting by Paul Delaroche.

In the center of this wonderful art production is a wide throne on which are seated three of the master minds of Greece. The two on either side are of the same type of face as our lamented and only great American sculptor; and as these powerful minds are represented enthroned amid a galaxy of world-renowned men of artistic genius, typifying their true positions, so we must in justice accord to Mr. Saint Gaudens as high a place among the artistic geniuses of the world.

One or two cold and cunning minds who follow the business of manufacturing statues with nothing to commend them but arms and legs, and whose zeal in business has led them to look with disfavor on the work of so great a soul, have said that he was a much overrated man.

Facts do not bear out this envious statement.

Not, I think, since the time of the illustrious Greeks has the world produced so remarkable a genius in the noble art of sculpture, and had he accomplished nothing more than the making of the Shaw Memorial and the heroic statue of Lincoln, his place in history would still be the foremost among the sculptors of the world to-day.

There was nothing frigid, wooden or cold about his work, and he never made the mistake of the crafty commercialist in putting his decorative detail on a poor underneath. He worked for the soul of the thing first; sought out its great masses and put them in their place

before he proceeded to the finer detail.

The writer remembers how long he struggled with the Shaw Memorial, to have all its great masses well arranged and the soul of the thing great before he finished the detail that makes this a masterpiece.

The little men who have tried to occupy his place cannot do this; their nervous haste to rob their patron and get rid of him for new work prevents them from realizing the splendor of the atmosphere of sincerity in which this great mind moved until his last hour.

Rodin is satisfied with the great masses alone, but here are two temperaments equally great in their own ideals, and the public appreciates them both. The only difference between them is the quality of nobility of thought, and in this respect Mr. Saint Gaudens was far above any other living sculptor.

It is not strange to the thinking mind that the forces which are life, should select with unerring exactness a mind so simple and strong as this Master for the work he did in lifting our professional life out of the commonplace.

At the time when Mr. Saint Gaudens entered the field of sculpture in America, it was under the cloud of the Greek imitative effort of a group of men who almost never had a sincere artistic feeling. Whatever they did was from established canon and in an almost mechanical way. A great impulse never stirred them beyond convention and we have in our museums quantities of stuff that is as uninteresting as it is useless as indicating our artistic ability as a nation.

The intellectual processes of these men were similar and their result the same in almost every case.

The man most admired at that time

conceived a bitter dislike for this new fresh genius who thought his own thoughts and was grand enough in spirit to ignore the horde of imitators and push them entirely out of his artistic atmosphere, so that they would not hinder the natural flow of that sublime quality in art,—sincere individuality. But this great man was gifted with two rare qualities, besides his genius,—silence and determination. Here indeed was a fine starting point for the new era in our professional life, a nature so strong and gentle that nothing could swerve it from the direct and simple path to great sculpture,—that through honest individual feeling expressed with strength and power.

The silence of the man was a terrific power in itself and he silenced his enemies in this way many times. It is impossible to think that he ever hated any one, he simply put them out of his mind and went on with his work.

First of all there was a stalwart nobility in the character of Mr. Saint Gaudens that is entirely lacking in those who have assumed to occupy his place.

The reason that his work was so full and strong, breathing of nobility and truth, was because these qualities inhered in the man. He could not express anything in a cold, soulless way. Whatever his little outward faults were, if he had any, they never went deeper than the surface, and there always remained that well-spring of the sublime mystery of his own nature.

When he was angry at the mean tricks resorted to by his brother sculptors, it was because of a fine sense of the injustice to his profession. He saw no reason for it and therefore condemned with merciless speech those who degraded art for their own ends.

This combination of sweetness and strength and these great impulses drove home into the clay a vigor and refinement which is not possible with a cold, cunning and calculating mind. In the hour of the writer's own suffering, this

towering genius did not hesitate to express, in a letter, his hearty sympathy and good-will for the man who despite all remained honest in a nest of dishonorable men, whose cunning and sycophancy had been kept at bay by one of the grandest minds, in art matters, this country has ever known and who said of Mr. Saint Gaudens, "He is a very great man."

When this quiet, reserved and dignified nature was willing to lift the honorable man back again on his feet, he did what he has always done in his sculpture, he let the nobler impulse guide him first, and then he thought of his own interests later.

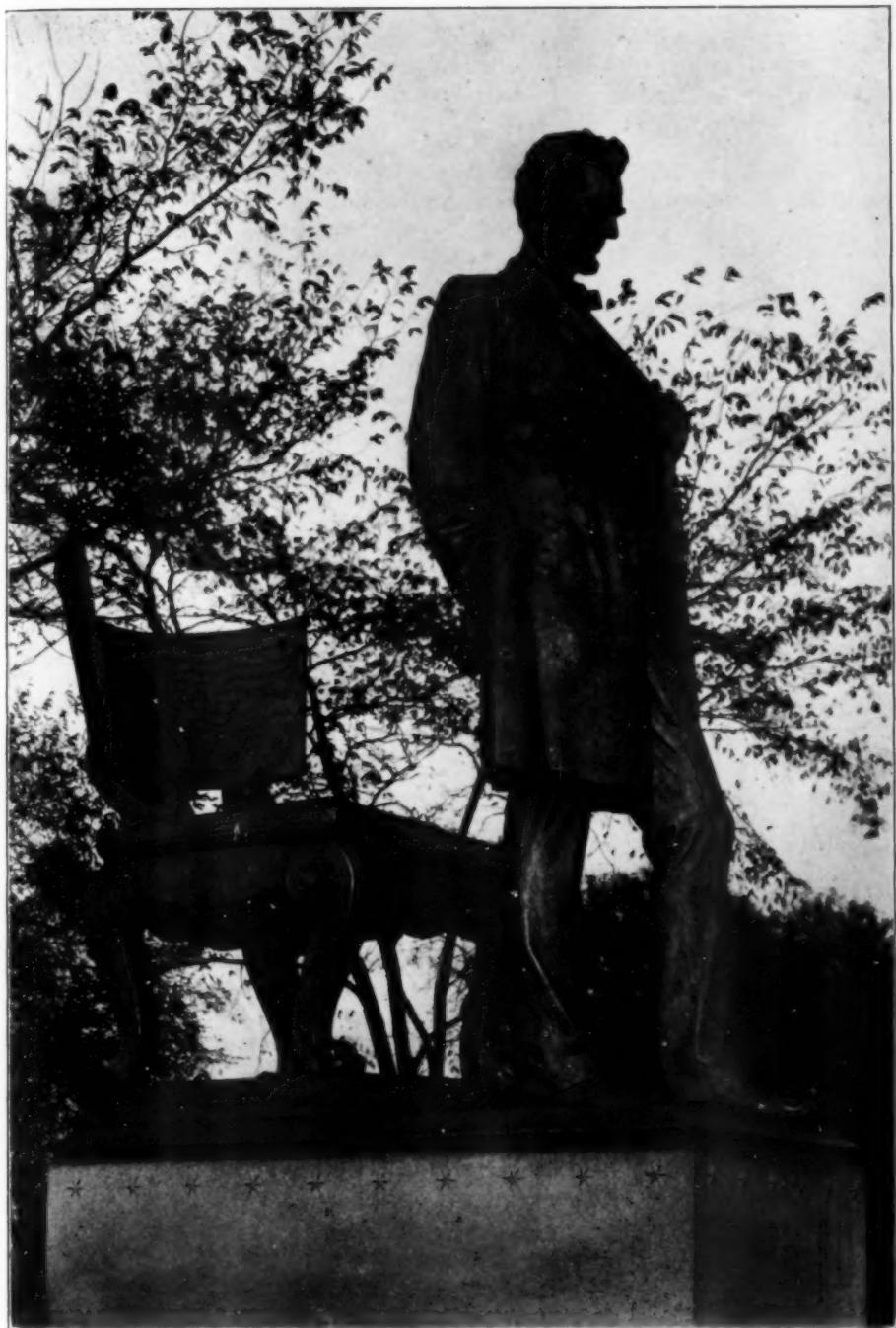
It is natural to speak of his "later works," but in truth there are no later works. He labored so sincerely to the end that the first was as good as the last, and his long training in the *École des Beaux Arts* and in Europe made of him a master from the first to the last day of his work in the active field of his profession.

The writer cannot pass the Shaw Memorial, in Boston, without instinctively lifting his hat, not for pose or effect on the passerby, but out of reverence for the presence of those silently marching slaves in whose faces is that wonderful expression and human cry for freedom, for justice and for life.

The sculptor is forgotten, but his ideal dominates the mind of the spectator. Truly, this is great sculpture.

Not far away from this masterpiece is another work, cold and meaningless, just legs and arms of animal and man. One has only to look at these two works in close proximity to discover on the instant what a vast difference there is between sculpture developed from character and that manufactured without it.

It is well to call attention to this difference at this time, when we are passing through one of the most distressing periods of commercialism in our art life



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SAINT GAUDENS' STATUE OF LINCOLN, IN LINCOLN PARK, CHICAGO.

and for the public to go and worship at the Shaw Memorial and then turn about and feel how chilling is sculpture that has no soul.

Mr. Saint Gaudens made great sculpture possible in America because he made it himself. He set an example of industry and sincerity that will last through all our history, and the feeble intellects who assume to occupy his place will find that they can not destroy and tear down to their own level for jealous reasons, but if they live at all they must live up to his high ideals and honorably seek to surpass them.

The Shaw Memorial cost the sculptor nearly twice what he received for it in

money; yet so brightly burned the fire of true genius that the group went on to place the stamp of truth upon the greatest work in sculpture of modern times.

How much it cost of time and sacrifice no one may know, but the result stands to-day as a living example of the splendid individuality of the man.

He knew full well that if he was true to his own ideals he would be true to his own race and time.

FRANK EDWIN ELWELL,

In grateful memory of a true friend, who was not afraid to be a friend in adversity

Weehawken, N. J.

THADDEUS S. C. LOWE: ONE OF AMERICA'S GREATEST INVENTIVE GENIUSES AND BENEFACTORS.

BY GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

SEVENTY-FIVE years ago there was born at Jefferson Mills, now known as Riverton, New Hampshire, a boy whose future life was little dreamed of by those who heard his first baby cry. There were other children in the family and the parents were poor, yet the mother found time to read something of the better literature of the time, and she had been thrilled with Jane Porter's interesting novel, *Thaddeus of Warsaw*, shortly before the birth of her boy. Who knows what dreams the sensitive mother heart had for her unborn child? Who knows what ambitions stirred within her as she asked herself what her child should be? And with a mother's pride and a mother's ambition she daringly gave to the tiny creature of pink flesh that had so recently come to her arms the high-sounding name of Thaddeus Sobieski Coulincourt. Two were great patriots and great military heroes. How

foolish her neighbors must have thought her! "How absurd the triple and heavy name with which she has weighted down her son," the more learned doubtless exclaimed; and yet it is no figment of the imagination to assert that Thaddeus Sobieski Coulincourt Lowe grew up to benefit and bless more people by far than did both of the historic heroes whose names he bears.

When quite a lad, Lowe's father died. As the family was large the mother was required by the selectmen of the town to do what was quite common in those days, viz., sell out the services of her son for a certain period to whoever would care for him. The man who bought Thaddeus' services was rough and rude, and he treated the lad so harshly that he determined to run away. Not far from where the noted Waumbek hotel now stands is the cottage from which he fled and outside was a pile of

stones upon which he sat with his bosom friend, Nathan Perkins—one of New Hampshire's most distinguished sons—and declared his intention. How the two lads clung to each other. What a desperate and daring undertaking it seemed. Yet in the night it was done, and the poor lad, with but a few cents in his pocket, trudged through the clearing, out onto the Portland road, determined to make his own fortune. It was not long before it came. Studious as a child, he had watched the clouds play about Mt. Washington and the other peaks of the Presidential range. He had felt the differences of the breezes of summer and winter; he had experienced the muggy heat of one day, followed by the cool, delicious breezes of the next. The why and wherefore of these things bothered him. He was a born interrogation point—a searcher for the truth—and he was born with the tireless energy of Thaddeus of Warsaw, the daring resolution of Sobieski, and the cool, logical brain of a Roman conqueror. So he set to work to find out. But how could he tell of the movements of the air-currents if he remained on the ground? Then he would ascend! But how? In a balloon. Whence could he secure the funds? By balloon ascensions. So he

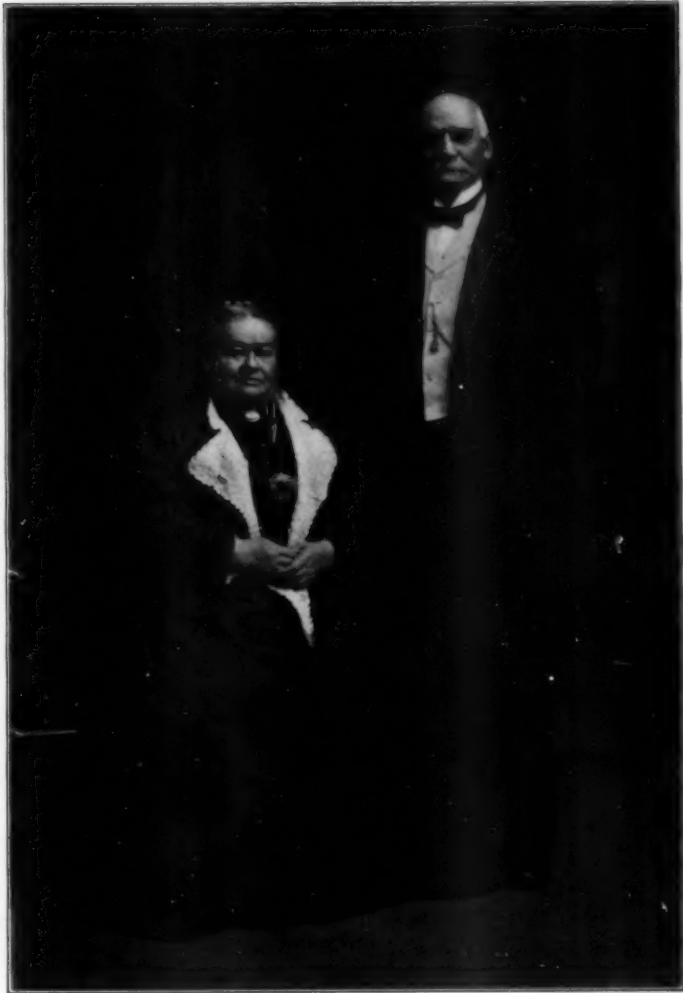


Photo. by Steckel, Los Angeles, Cal.

PROFESSOR LOWE AND MRS. LOWE AT 50TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THEIR WEDDING, FEBRUARY 14TH, 1905.

blossomed out into an aëronaut. One of his first friends and helpers was Tilly Haynes, the well-known hotel man, who then lived in Springfield, Massachusetts, and who said: "Come to Springfield and give us an ascension on the Fourth of July and we'll pay you well."

On the strength of the promises of friends he went ahead, constructed a fine balloon and prepared for the ascension, which was a complete success.

Others followed in rapid succession. He was making a name for his daring and his ability; but he cared nothing for that. *He* was learning. His ascensions were not made for glory; they were for study. Long before the applause of the giddy and excited crowds below had left his ears he was taking careful note of the air-currents through which he passed, and the direction other currents were flowing.

Scientists soon began to learn what he was after. His ideas were new and novel. He scouted the thought that we were compelled to remain in ignorance of the weather until it came. He ventured the bold assertion that the time would come when the government of an enlightened country like the United States would soon inform the people of the respective sections what kind of weather they might reasonably expect for the following twenty-four or forty-eight hours. He was laughed at, of course, as a visionary, but other and wiser men further questioned the studious youth with the far-seeing eyes, and listened in amazement as he outlined the possibilities of what he conceived to be the duties of the United States in this regard. And in later years, when his ideas were taken in toto and out of them was formulated the United States Weather Bureau, then the scoffers began to realize as scoffers have always realized when too late—that any fool can scoff, but it takes a wise man to listen and heed.

Among the wise men who heeded Lowe's ideas was Joseph Henry, the greatest American scientist of his day, and then Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. Lowe was certain that at a certain distance above the earth an air-current would be found that invariably flowed eastward, no matter how the surface currents were blowing. To thoroughly test this he built the largest aërostat ever constructed. It was 150 feet perpendicular diameter, by 104

transverse diameter, the upper portion being spherical. When fully inflated with hydrogen, its atmospheric displacement amounted to a lifting force of twenty-two and a half tons. For its outfit were provided, in addition to the car, all the necessary scientific instruments and a Francis metallic life-boat, schooner-rigged, so that all reasonable precautions would be taken against accident. The gas envelope weighed over two tons, and the net-work and cordage added another ton and a half, while the extra outfit and passengers brought the total weight up to over eight tons.

A practical purpose for the use of this balloon was the bringing of speedy news of the markets of Europe to this country, for it will be remembered that the Atlantic cable, though laid in 1857, was practically useless until 1866.

Professor Henry, however, was not willing to allow Professor Lowe to risk his life on this trans-Atlantic trip until he had first demonstrated the existence of the eastern air-current. He practically said: "Why can't you build a smaller balloon, and when all the surface currents are blowing *westward* make an ascension? Then if you come *eastward* for any long distance, we shall be reasonably certain that this eastern current exists, and I will then further your plans all I possibly can."

No sooner suggested than done. Professor Lowe built a balloon, went to Cincinnati and waited for telegraphic reports that should tell when all the surface winds were blowing westward. When the news finally came, he was at a banquet, in full dress clothes, and with a high silk hat. Yet such was his enthusiasm and delight at being able to go that he would not wait to change his clothes, but dressed as he was, made the ascent. Murat Halstead, the distinguished editor of Cincinnati's leading newspaper, wrapped up a jug of hot coffee for him in a blanket, and amid the shouts of his



Photo by Steckel, Los Angeles Cal.

A PART OF PROFESSOR LOWE'S FAMILY TAKEN AT TIME OF GOLDEN WEDDING, FEBRUARY 14TH, 1905.

friends, the balloon, which had been kept in a state of perpetual readiness, was cast loose and rose into the heavens. All the newspapers chronicled the event and laughingly stated that when this balloon, which had made the ascent for the purpose of demonstrating the existence of a perpetual eastern air-current, was last seen, it was rapidly moving *westward*. Yet, had the humorists looked a little longer and seen the balloon ascend higher, they would soon have witnessed a change. It was not long before—as Professor Lowe was assured—the balloon struck the eastern current and he began to travel rapidly towards the Atlantic. What a journey that was. Over a mile in the blue of the heavens, the silence of night surrounding him, and, though traveling at so great a rate of speed, the motion of the balloon and of the air was so harmonious that he was able to read with an uncovered candle in his hand. In eight hours he had crossed the Alleghenies, and, seeing the ocean in the distance he landed in South Carolina. It would take too long to tell of the peculiar and thrilling experiences Professor Lowe passed through at this time. The war of the rebellion had begun, Fort Sumter had been fired upon; and he was taken for a spy, captured and guarded as a prisoner. He came near being hanged without ceremony. At last he persuaded his captors to take him to Columbia, where he was known as a scientist and duly released. Hence it can safely be said that he was the first prisoner of the Civil War.

Now President Lincoln sent for him, and in a short time he had organized the United States Balloon Corps and was making daily and hourly ascensions for the purpose of watching the movements of the enemy below. He invented methods of making gas so that he could speedily fill his balloon when movements in the field were required. He invented and put into constant operation a means of telegraphing from the balloon when in

the air, to the headquarters of his general, and also to Washington. The good service he rendered the government during the war has been nobly recognized and it was owing to that service that the Loyal Legion elected him an honorary member of its distinguished fellowship.

It is also undoubtedly owing to the impetus he gave to the use of the balloon, and the practical methods of its application that he invented and set in operation, that has led to the great advancement in the airship, the one being the natural forerunner of the other.

Before the close of the war, ill health, caused by exposure, compelled Professor Lowe to resign his work and leave it in the hands of the subordinates he had trained. For a while he retired to a farm in Pennsylvania, but his active mind allowed him to take no mental rest. During his period of recuperation he invented and patented a machine for making artificial ice by compression of gases. As soon as possible the plant was in operation. Everything worked perfectly and it is a wonderful tribute to his mechanical skill and foresight that the first machine thus made, with several others manufactured at the same time, are still in active operation, turning out their daily quota of ice.

This invention led to the sister one of an artificial refrigerating plant, and then to the equipment of a refrigerated steamer for the transportation of perishable meats, vegetables and fruits from Galveston to New York. I have before me now as I write one of the certificates of stock of this new company, launching a new business which was to have so important a bearing upon the food supply of the world. It is dated December 21, 1868. And from an article that appeared in the *New York Sun* at that time I quote the following:

“It is encouraging to note the practical efforts that are being made to obtain abundant and cheap supplies of fresh



LOWE MEMORIAL UNION CHAPEL, ERECTED ON THE SITE OF PROF. LOWE'S BIRTHPLACE.

beef, an article which ranks second in importance only to bread, in our cities and large towns. The forestallers and middlemen have such a control upon the cattle markets, that the most exorbitant prices are exacted from consumers, even when the supply from the West is large. This state of affairs has directed attention to the immense supplies of cattle in Texas, and to scientific methods of supplying Northern markets from that source. Experiments with refrigerator steamers, to which we have before directed attention, have recently been made between a Texas port and New Orleans with entire success. A lot of thirty head of cattle arrived at New Orleans, on the 10th inst., in the steamer 'Agnes,' which had been fitted up with refrigerating apparatus for the purpose, and came out in perfect order, looking as if freshly slaughtered, though killed five days be-

fore. The means used for preserving the beef is so effectual, that it may be shipped for long distances—to Northern as well as Southern ports. Arrangements are in progress for sending large quantities to Mobile and Havana. As before remarked, Texas abounds in beef cattle, thousands of which are slaughtered for their hides and tallow alone, and if this new process proves to be as successful as it now seems likely to, it will be a great step toward cheap beef.

"A very extensive beef-packing establishment has also been completed at Shreveport, Louisiana, by the gentleman who built the Communipaw abattoir across our harbor on the New Jersey shore. The plants, to slaughter and pack the Texas beef at the time when it is in the best condition for market; to employ the newly-invented refrigerator steamships, to bring the beef fresh to our

markets. Nearly the whole of each of these vessels is an immense refrigerator, kept cool by ice, made by the use of carbonic acid. Texas beef can be bought on the spot for about two cents a pound; and the hides, horns and tallow, it is estimated, will pay for slaughtering and transporting. We conclude that there is a fair prospect of an increased supply of fresh beef at materially lower prices than those now current here, which range from twenty to thirty-five cents per pound to the consumer."

But both these inventions were far ahead of their time. The world was not ready for them, and the inventor not only failed to realize his financial hopes from them, but was actually placed many scores of thousands of dollars in debt thereby. To most men this would have been a staggering blow, preventing further inventive activities. But not so to this sturdy son born and bred on the granite hills of New Hampshire. With energy and vigor all the keener because of the drawbacks and obstacles, he set to work to give the world an invention for which it was not only ready but waiting. For sixty-five years, since its first introduction, there had been no improvement upon the old, clumsy, wasteful and barbarous retort methods of making illuminating gas. Professor Lowe invented a process by means of which, by superheating the retort, water ejected therein was reduced to its gaseous condition. In this state the hydrogen was separated and properly treated so as to make a most powerful and brilliant illuminant. The cost of manufacture was reduced wonderfully, the labor of handling the plant was also reduced, and a far better product supplied to consumers. The invention immediately began to revolutionize the gas industry, and I was personally present at a banquet given to Professor Lowe in Philadelphia, and another in New York, where it was openly stated that he had made the fortunes of more men in the gas

industry than had been made by any other man in any profession then living. But while this is undoubtedly true, it is equally true—even more so—that the primary object of Professor Lowe's invention from the financial side has not been—as too often is the case—to add to the wealth of the capitalist. He has always strenuously worked for the benefit of the poor. By means of his gas inventions hundreds of thousands of the poor are using gas for fuel, for cooking and heating, who without them could never have afforded to do so. Think of the saving of labor by the use of gas. Fires do not have to be made, kindlings and wood split, the ashes, etc., removed. A turn of the wrist, the striking of a match, and all is ready, either for cooking the morning's meal or heating any room in the house. Gas to-day costs less than one-fourth what it did when Professor Lowe's first invention was given to the world.

Feeling the need of recuperation after his busy and arduous life, Professor Lowe now removed to California. Here the great peaks of the Sierra Madre range allured and attracted him, reminding him daily of the wonderful White Mountains of his boyhood home. He had visited them again and again in his manhood; had ridden up the wonderful Mt. Washington railway, and with these remembrances in his mind, he determined to make the peaks of the Sierra Madres as accessible as were the slopes and summit of Mt. Washington. Accordingly he built the Mt. Lowe railway, the first and only all electric mountain railway in existence. The great cable incline is 3,000 feet long and in some places has a grade of 62 per cent.,—that is, it rises 62 feet in elevation to every 100 feet it goes forward. A hundred thousand people during the last few years have enjoyed the marvelous scenery it discloses. Four hotels were built on this railway for the enjoyment of travelers and others; one at Rubio at 2,200 feet elevation, two on Echo Mountain at

3,500 feet elevation, and the fourth, Alpine Tavern, on the shoulders of Mt. Lowe, 5,000 feet above the sea.

Just above Echo Mountain he established at his own expense the Lowe Observatory and equipped it with an Alvin Clark refracting telescope, 16 inches in diameter. Dr. Lewis Swift, the eminent astronomer of Rochester, New York, was in charge for many years and is now succeeded by Dr. Edgar Larkin who is also well-known for his scientific attainments.

Readers of THE ARENA will remember that it was here, on Echo Mountain, that the beloved James G. Clarke, our poet of the people, wrote several of his most beautiful descriptive poems.

He was one of many poetic and literary friends of Professor Lowe, all of whom were entertained with generous hospitality in the hotels on this beautiful mountain.

For the past fifteen years Professor Lowe has been devoting all his time and energy to the last and crowning achievement of his life. It is most successfully accomplished, and that which it does is as marvelous as were the stories of the telephone, graphophone, wireless telegraphy, radium, etc., before they became common. By means of his new invention, which is a combined coke and gas oven, a million or more feet of gas (according to the size of the plant) may



Photo. by Steckel, Los Angeles, Cal.

PROFESSOR LOWE AND THREE SONS.

be made each day, as a mere by-product that costs nothing; and the coke that comes from this new oven, made by the new process, is so purely anthracite and so hard that it burns without a particle of smoke, is consumed entirely, and for metallurgical purposes such as the smelting of ores, is capable of bearing twice the weight of ore as is the ordinary coal coke.

The metallurgist will readily recognize the great advantage this coke affords over the old coke. The one cry in smelting ores is for a coke that will "hold up" the weight of ore that necessarily must be placed upon it while in the furnace. This "Lowe anthracite coke"



FIRING THE SALUTE OF SEVENTY-FIVE GUNS.

has an upholding strength, that is marvelous, and the most refractory ores, requiring the greatest heat, can be easily and successfully reduced in a furnace fed by it.

But this is only one phase of his new invention. By a careful and studious arrangement—in which work Professor Lowe's peculiar genius manifests itself—a plant is secured which, under one roof and one management, and at scarcely more than the cost of operation of an ordinary gas plant, and at little more than the original cost of a fair-sized gas or electric-light plant, produces the following: coke, which supplies all the *hard* fuel of the community; gas, for lighting, cooking and heating; artificial ice and refrigeration; with steam and electric power for sale for all manufacturing purposes, or even for the operation of an electric railway. Think what such a plant would mean to a small community! By its means these luxuries of the highest civilization, which have hitherto been confined to the larger cities, are put within the reach of the humblest, for the cost is so materially

reduced that the common laborer can well afford to use gas for cooking and electric light in his humble cottage, while ice from the same plant keeps the milk, meat and vegetable supply of the family sweet and pure.

There need be no wonder, then, that with such a long and successful life of useful and helpful invention behind him, the people of his native village in New Hampshire showed desire to do him especial honor on his seventy-fifth birthday, which occurred on the 20th of August last. At the time of his birth, in 1832, the place was called Jefferson Mills, but as there were several "Jeffersons" near by, it was deemed advisable to change the name to Riverton. It is now on the line of the Maine Central. A fine flag-pole was secured from the slopes of Mt. Starr King, surmounted with a golden ball, painted and erected, and on the appointed day over a thousand people assembled from all the region round about in carriages, buggies, tallyhos, phaëtons, straw wagons, automobiles and by railway train, to witness the raising of a monster 20 by 30 feet

United States flag, especially presented to his townsmen by Professor Lowe. Ex-Governor Chester B. Jordan of New Hampshire presided and in most happy vein related incidents connected with the Lowe family of seventy-five and more years ago. He extolled the spirit of this poor, barefooted lad who went out into the world to benefit and bless his fellows, educating himself and placing his name high on the mountain of fame by his own unaided efforts. Two local poets read or sang odes in honor of their townsman, and the great audience joined in the song heartily and cheered lustily when another speaker gave a brief account of Professor Lowe's inventions and achievements. The Rev. Dr. Logue, one of the best known and loved of the ministers of New Hampshire, made a telling speech and fairly electrified the audience, when he dedicated the chapel (before which the ceremonies took place and which was built on the site of the old Lowe homestead) as the Lowe Memorial Union Chapel. A beautiful black and gold tablet has since been

placed over the doorway of the chapel bearing the following inscription:

Lowe Memorial Union Chapel
Dedicated to the Glory of God
and the benefit of humanity on
the seventy-fifth birthday of
Thaddeus S. C. Lowe
August 20, 1907.

A battery of cannon fired a salute of seventy-five guns and solid and liquid refreshments were served with generous liberality to all who were present.

It was throughout a most enjoyable affair, because of the marked spontaneity of the feelings of the people who had gladly assembled to give honor to Professor Lowe, and the unanimous feeling of all the observers was that as a genuine outpouring of popular feeling and as a tribute of high esteem its spirit and observance was perfect. A fitting conclusion is found in the fact that the citizens have now set on foot a movement to again and finally change the name of their town, this time giving it the name they all delight to honor,—that of their distinguished citizen, *Lowe*.

GEORGE WHARTON JAMES
Pasadena, California.

IDEALISM: A SKETCH. PART I. PLATO, AND KANT'S DELIMITATION OF KNOWLEDGE.

BY JUDGE L. H. JONES.

THAT the services which philosophy has been able to render the cause of religion, while of great and acknowledged value, are yet of a purely negative character, is vouched for by no less an authority than the great Immanuel Kant in the following language: "The greatest and perhaps the sole use of all philosophy of pure reason is, after all, merely negative, since it serves, not as an organon for the enlargement [of knowledge], but as a discipline for its delimitation; and instead of discovering truth, has only the

modest merit of preventing error." Nevertheless, the history of philosophy is undoubtedly the history of the finest achievements of the human intellect; and "the modest merit of preventing error" is second only to the supreme merit of discovering truth.

Among no people, ancient or modern, has philosophy reached a higher stage of development than among the ancient Greeks; for no people have reached a higher state of mental development; or exhibited greater capacity for sustained

discursive thought, or greater subtlety of discrimination, or profounder insight into purely philosophic problems. Greek philosophy meant Greek culture; and, for several centuries both before and after the Christian era, that meant, practically, the culture, education, and enlightenment of the world. Furthermore, the philosophy of the Greeks constituted their religion, as distinctly as Hebrew sacred literature expressed the religion of the Hebrews. The Greeks, like their great forbears, the Egyptians, were an exceedingly reverent people, exceedingly religious, whose ideas of God and the worship due Him surpassed in important respects any nation of their time, not excepting the Hebrews. While the Jews were offering to God the blood of goats and rams and were thinking of Him in anthropomorphic images—as a conquering and terrible Jehovah who would appear to avenge the wrongs of the Jewish nation by slaughtering and subduing other nations—Plato was teaching the Greeks that God is Mind, Wisdom, the supreme Good, and that the *summum bonum* of individual man is union with God by assimilation to Him in character. This was really Plato's idea of the atonement. The soul had lost its primitive purity and oneness with God and become immeshed in sensuous elements of which the corporeal body is the grossest expression and most hindering incumbrance in man's struggle to regain his primitive estate of blessedness. "Philosophy is with Plato as with Socrates, not something purely theoretical, but the return of the soul to its true nature, a spiritual regeneration in which the soul regains its lost knowledge of the ideal world, and thus the consciousness of its own higher origin, of its original superiority to the sensuous world. In philosophy the mind purifies itself from all admixture of sense; it comes to itself and re-obtains that freedom and rest of which its immersion in the material had deprived it." (Schwegler's *Hist. Phil.*, p. 117.)

Plato's conception of creation is not inferior to any but that of the Bible, if, indeed, it be not in practical accord with that of the first chapter of Genesis. Man and the universe that God created consist of ideas of pure reason, which are perfect and eternal, and exist together in perfect harmony and oneness—as the many in one—in God, as archetypes, after which an inferior deity called a Demiurge patterned, with more or less faithful imitation, the sensuous or material universe. Plato evidently considered that God is "of purer eyes than to behold evil" (Habakkuk, 1: 13), and so he assigned the work of fashioning a material world to an inferior deity. "With Plato Greek philosophy reached the highest point of its development. The Platonic system is the first complete construction of the entire natural and spiritual universe in accordance with one single philosophical principle; it is the type of all higher speculation, of all metaphysical as well as ethical idealism." (Schwegler, *Hist. Phil.*, 124.) Aristotle says: "Plato came to the doctrine of ideas because he was convinced of the truth of the Heraclitic view which regarded the sensible world as a ceaseless flowing and changing. His conclusion from this was, that if there be a science of any thing there must be, besides the sensible, other substances which have permanence, for there can be no science of the fleeting." From Parmenides I quote what Socrates is made to say of these Ideas: "The more probable view, Parmenides, of these ideas is, that they are patterns fixed in nature, and that other things are like them, and resemblances of them; and that what is meant by the participation of other things in the ideas, is really assimilation to them." (Jowett's *Plato*, Vol. III., 249.) Plato was the first to recognize the ideas of pure reason as having objective existence as real living entities; and the first to realize that neither knowledge, nor science, nor being, is possible on any other basis. His separation between the real spiritual

universe of Ideas and its sensuous unreal imitation was radical and complete. Aristotle, his illustrious disciple, was the first to attempt a reconciliation between them, and so became the father of modern materialism, and the Esau of philosophy. For, philosophy has had its Esaus as truly as religion. Men who failed to estimate spiritual values at their proper worth; who do not belong to the spiritual succession. It was so with Plato; it was so with his illustrious and only worthy successor, Immanuel Kant. Ever since the days of Kant there have been philosophers, the Esaus of the *decadence*, ready to explain how Kant missed his way, and failed to bridge the impassable gulf between the spiritual and the sensuous, which neither he nor father Abraham could see a way to bridge.

Schopenhauer, one of Kant's greatest interpreters, says of him: "Kant's greatest merit is the distinction of the phenomenon from the thing in itself, based upon the proof that between things and us there still always stands the intellect, so that they may not be known as they may be in themselves. . . .

"Now as Kant's separation of the phenomenon from the thing in itself, arrived at in the manner explained above, far surpassed all that preceded it in the depth and thoughtfulness of its conception, it was also exceedingly important in its results. For in it he propounded, quite originally, in a perfectly new way, found from a new side and on a new path, the same truth which Plato never wearied of repeating, and in his language generally expresses thus: This world which appears to the senses has no true being, but only a ceaseless becoming; it is, and it is not, and its comprehension is not so much knowledge as illusion. . . .

"The same truth, again quite differently presented, is also a leading doctrine of the Vedas and Puranas. . . . But Kant not only expressed the same doctrine in a completely new and original way, but raised it to the position of proved and indisputable truth by means

of the calmest and most "temperate exposition; while both Plato and the Indian philosophers had founded their assertions merely upon a general perception of the world, had advanced them as the direct utterances of their consciousness, and presented them rather mythically and poetically than philosophically and distinctly. Such distinct knowledge and calm, thoughtful exposition of this dream-like nature of the whole world is really the basis of the whole Kantian philosophy; it is its soul and its greatest merit. He accomplished this by taking to pieces the whole machinery of our intellect by means of which the phantasmagoria of the objective world is brought about, and presenting it in detail with marvelous insight and ability." (*World as Will and Idea*, II., 6-9.)

We are, accordingly, not surprised to find Professor Heinze in his *Observations on Kant's Lectures on Metaphysics*, quoting in support of this view the following from the *Critique of Pure Reason* (German edition):

"One may use as a weapon against materialism the argument that the separation from the body is the end of our sense knowledge and the beginning of our intellectual knowledge. The body helps the sensual and animal part, but hinders the spiritual part of our nature. And against other criticisms of the doctrine of Immortality one may adduce the transcendental hypothesis: 'All life is essentially only intellectual and not subject to time changes, neither beginning with birth nor ending with death. This world's life is only an appearance, a sensuous image of the pure spiritual life, and the whole world of sense only a picture swimming before our present knowing faculty like a dream, and having no reality in itself. For if we should see things and ourselves as they are we would see ourselves in a world of spiritual natures with which our entire real relation neither began at birth nor ended with the body's death.'"

Kant criticizes Plato's division of the world into the *mundus sensibilis* or world of sense appearance, and the *mundus intelligibilis* or world of Ideas of the pure reason, calls Plato "the sublime philosopher," and says: "In this distinction, Plato is quite right. It is the beginning of all sound philosophy to recognize that bodies are not absolutely real, but only mere appearances. But he is wrong in holding that the *mundus intelligibilis* is the real object of the knowledge of the understanding. On the contrary, it is the *mundus sensibilis* to which the human understanding is adapted. Its concepts have value for knowledge only as functions for the construction of phenomena." (Paulsen's *Kant*, p. 200.)

Paulsen speaks of Kant's "doctrine of the primacy of the practical reason" as "the coping stone of the Kantian philosophy;" and adds: "It is a protest against attaching too much importance to [physical] science, and estimating too highly its importance for life, as had been the fashion since the days of the revival of learning. . . . So long as one believes that through science and philosophy it was possible to obtain absolute insight into the nature of things, and the being of God, these things appeared to have some part in constituting the dignity of man. Now Kant declares that knowledge of this kind is absolutely impossible, and in its place he sets practical faith [*i. e.*, practical reason], which rests solely on the good will, not on knowledge and demonstration. And this faith is the only way of approach to the super-sensible world, which through it stands open to all alike, to all, that is, of good will. Learning of the schools, theology, and metaphysics are of no advantage here." (*Ibid.*, pp. 341-2.) In other words, since "It is the very essence of the Kantian idealism that objects are not there till they are thought" (see Caird's *Kant*); that is, since the human or mortal or carnal mind is the creator of the sense-world, so its knowl-

edge—all the knowing of which it is in any wise capable—is confined to the objects of its own creating, that is to its own ideas, or the so-called physical phenomena; "for the natural man" can not know "the things of the Spirit of God" (1 Cor., 2: 14), which are the ideas of the pure, or practical reason. Plato and the schoolmen thought different, and it was Kant's great work to destroy this illusion. It was a treacherous claim to knowledge which Kant, under the awakening touch of Hume, realized was fraught with dire calamity to religion, and which he accordingly undertook to destroy. This he accomplished through his "delimitation" of human knowledge, as I have endeavored to explain. Kant says: "I had to destroy [sham] knowledge to make room for [rational] faith." (*Critique*, 2d ed., Pref.)

In this distinction which Kant recognized between the human understanding and the divine understanding or practical reason—Kant meaning by practical reason the divine Reason, *i. e.*, God, the source of all reality and all real knowing—consists, doubtless, the greatest service he was able to render to the cause of religion. By it he administers a rebuke to the foolish pretensions of human wisdom scarcely less severe than Paul administers in the first two chapters of his first letter to the Corinthians. It is clearly the distinction which our Saviour recognized when He blessed Simon's confession that He was the Christ, "for flesh and blood [*i. e.*, human understanding] hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father [*i. e.*, divine Mind] which is in heaven." Others had made this confession before, doubtless Simon Peter had, certainly Nathanael had; and even the devils knew that He was the Christ. (Luke, 4: 41.) But they provoked no such remarkable statement from Jesus. Not until the Master recognized Peter's spiritual growth and that he had his knowledge as a communication from the one Mind does he regard it as a confession on which to build his Church.

This kind of truth-knowing loans, truth known in this spiritual manner, viz., by God's communication of Himself as Mind, in the form of illumining intelligence, Christ Jesus recognized as the only real knowing upon which he could safely build his church. In this he clearly recognizes that there is but the one source of all real knowing, the knowing of the one Mind, which is spiritual knowing or spiritual discernment. This is the "delimitation" of knowledge to which Kant so modestly alludes in the quotation at the beginning of this article. It is the most sweeping, far-reaching principle for which his entire system stands; indeed, from which everything else in his philosophy appears to flow. It (Kant's philosophy) makes fundamental and absolute his separation between the world of ideas of pure reason as the only real world, and the world of sense-experience as a sensuous appearance without any true reality. It divests materialism of every support, and from that good day (his) to this (ours) there has not been a moment when materialism, whether in philosophy or religion, had

the least chance of long withstanding the leaven of this divine principle. It contains the rationale of the distinction between religion of authority and religion of the Spirit, and in announcing it as a fundamental and essential principle of any true philosophy Kant placed Protestantism on its rational basis and sealed forever the work of the Reformation.

This distinction between the divine and only real Mind and the false human or mortal mind is not more clearly recognized nor more strenuously insisted upon than in Christian Science. It is the shibboleth on the border land between the false and the true, between human speculation and divine revelation. As Schopenhauer says of Kant, Mrs. Eddy approached the problem "from a new side and on a new path," guided by the Christ light or divine Reason she arrived at the same conclusion, but in a way that transfigured the arid abstractions of philosophy into life-giving truth and this Christ truth again becomes incarnate in the consciousness of men.

JUDGE L. H. JONES.

Louisville, Ky.

THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION AND ITS NEW REPORT ON PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP.

BY PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS, PH.D.

THE NATIONAL Civic Federation Commission on Public-Ownership has completed its investigation and made a report which will probably be ready for issue by the time this article is published. The report is in three volumes and contains by far the most thorough-going statement of facts relating to public and private operation of municipal monopolies that has ever been presented to the public.

The commission employed expert engineers and accountants in pairs; one

of each pair representing municipal interests and the other private interests. These couples examined each of the water, gas, electric light and street-railway systems selected by the commission for special investigation, and reported the results in the form of answers to the questions in printed "schedules" which were framed by the commission and put into the hands of the experts as the basis of their work. These schedules contained hundreds of questions relating to the four departments into which

the subject was divided, viz., (1) History; (2) Labor and Politics; (3) The Plant and Its Value and the Service Rendered by it; (4) Finance.

In addition to the expert schedules and special reports, the commission visited the various plants and made a personal examination of them. Water, gas and electric light were studied in this country, and gas, electric light and tramways in Great Britain. In each country three or four public plants and as many private plants were chosen in each industry for special investigation and visitation; and in addition to these a pair of experts were employed to report on sixteen electric lighting systems in Massachusetts, eight public and eight private. Full comparisons, however, were only obtained in Great Britain, for the private companies in this country would not permit the appraisal of their properties and the investigation of costs, which are essential to complete comparisons of the two systems. In Great Britain only one company, a street-railway company, refused to allow full investigation by the commission and its experts. All the other plants investigated, both public and private, were valued by our engineers, and those valuations furnish a basis for accurate com-

parison and calculation of actual costs, depreciation, fair capitalization, etc., such as no other investigation has supplied.

The prime credit for this important piece of work is due to Mr. Ralph M. Easley, chairman of the Executive Council of the National Civic Federation. His tireless energy, superb initiative and remarkable ability to get men of different views and interests to work together for a common purpose, have enabled him to accomplish marvelous results in the way of organization for social and economic service of the most liberal and progressive sort. Witness this public-ownership investigation, the immigration investigation now on foot, the trust conference in Chicago this fall, and the National Civic Federation itself, with its great union of the leaders of labor and capital, and its departments of conciliation and arbitration and welfare work.

About two years ago, while the question of municipal operation of street-railways was at white heat in Chicago, the Civic Federation invited a hundred leading men from various parts of the United States to form a Public-Ownership Commission and investigate the merits of public and private operation of public utilities in such manner as they might deem best.* The commission met in

*This commission included such men as *M. E. Ingalls*, Chairman and ex-President of the Big Four Railroad; *Samuel Gompers*, President of the American Federation of Labor; *John Mitchell*, President of the United Mine Workers of America; *Dr. Albert Shaw*, author of *Municipal Government in Great Britain* and Editor of the *Review of Reviews*; *Hon. Carroll D. Wright*, President of Clark University and ex-United States Commissioner of Labor; *George Harvey*, Editor of the *North American Review*; *August Belmont*, President of the National Civic Federation and a controlling owner of street-railway interests in New York City; *Walton Clark*, General Manager of the United Gas Improvement Company of Philadelphia and a director of the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey; *Professor John Graham Brooks*, author of *Social Unrest* and President of the American Social Science Association; *Walter L. Fisher*, who was Secretary of the Municipal Voters' League of Chicago, and afterwards counsel for the city in its negotiations with the street-railway companies; *E. E. Clark*, Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Railway Conductors; *William J. Clark*, Foreign Manager of the General Electric Company; *H. B. F. MacFarland*, President of

the Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia; *Professor E. W. Bemis*, editor-author of *Municipal Monopolies*, etc., and now Superintendent of city water-works, Cleveland; *Charles L. Edgar*, President of the Edison Electric Lighting Company of Boston; *Professor John R. Commons* of Wisconsin University; *Thomas Lowry*, President of the Twin City Transit Company of Minneapolis; *W. D. P. Bliss*, sociological author; *Oscar S. Strauss* of New York, merchant and publicist, now a member of Roosevelt's cabinet; *Dr. Milo R. Maltbie*, formerly editor of *Municipal Affairs* and now a member of the New York Public Utilities Commission recently appointed by Governor Hughes; *Frank A. Vanderlip*, Vice-President of the National City Bank of New York; *Professor Frank Parsons*, author of *The City for the People*, *Railways, Trusts and the People*, etc., and President of the National Public-Ownership League; *Cornelius N. Bliss*, New York capitalist and ex-Secretary of the Interior; *Timothy Healy*, International President of Stationary Firemen; *Professor John H. Gray* of Northwestern University, now of the University of Minnesota; *Harvey S. Chase*, public accountant, Boston; *Talcott Williams*, editor of the *Philadelphia Press*; *Professor J. W. Jenks* of Cornell University;

Earl Hall, Columbia University, October 5 1905, President Gompers presiding. M. E. Ingalls was chosen permanent chairman, John Mitchell vice-chairman, E. A. Moffett secretary, and Cornelius N. Bliss treasurer. A committee or sub-commission composed of the twenty-one men whose names are printed in italics in the list in the foot-note, was chosen to investigate municipal monopolies here and abroad, and another committee was appointed to raise funds.

President Belmont told the committee of his hearty interest in the investigation. He said he thought that if the facts were fully brought out they would prove to be favorable to private enterprise, but he wanted the facts, whichever way they pointed, and he assured the committee that the funds would be forthcoming to cover the expenses of the work. The writer is far from approving some things Mr. Belmont's companies have done—inflations of stock, etc., but the Civic Federation and its President have certainly shown an admirable spirit of fairness and impartiality in this investigation.

M. E. Ingalls of the Big Four Railroad was made chairman of the Committee on Investigation, and a most admirable chairman he proved to be. His great

executive ability, intellectual grasp, open-mindedness, genial wit, and love of fair play, combined with a large and handsome physique, frank and kindly manners and a rare tact, stamp him as one of nature's noblemen and one of the ablest and fairest of our great captains of industry. His interests and his training incline him to think that private-ownership is best if the companies can be thoroughly regulated and kept from corrupting politics or entertaining demoralizing relations with state and city governments. The writer agrees with the English people, that in the case of public-service monopolies public-ownership under good conditions is superior even to honest and well regulated private-ownership, as tending to secure a better diffusion of wealth and power, shorter hours and higher wages for common labor, direct and continuous public control of the streets and all monopoly uses of them, development of civic virtue and intelligence through the widening of the sphere for their exercise and intensifying the demand for them, transfer to the side of good government of the financial interests of wealthy and influential men who as holders of stock in public-service companies find their financial interests in large degree opposed to good govern-

Professor Edwin R. Seligman of Columbia University; Isaac N. Seligman, banker; *F. J. McNulty*, President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; *Professor Leo S. Rowe*, of the University of Pennsylvania; Alexander C. Humphrey, President of Stevens Institute; George F. McCulloch, President of Indiana Traction Company, Indianapolis; *Professor Frank J. Goodnow*, Columbia University; *Daniel J. Keefe*, President of the International Longshoremen's Association, Detroit; *Albert E. Winchester*, General Superintendent of the Municipal Electric Lighting Plant, South Norwalk, Connecticut; *Lawrence F. Abbott*, editor of *The Outlook*; James Duncan, Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor; Louis D. Brandeis, lawyer and publicist, of Boston; Roland Phillips, Editor of *Harper's Weekly*; Professor Henry W. Farnam of Yale; John F. Tobin, General President of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union; Henry C. Watson, editor *Dun's Review*; *W. D. Mahon*, President of the Amalgamated Association of Street-Railway Employés, Detroit; E. A. Moffett, Secretary of the Commission, formerly editor of the *Bricklayer and Mason*, Indianapolis; Franklin MacVeagh, merchant, Chicago; *Professor Graham Taylor*, Chicago; *J. W. Sullivan*,

author of *Direct Legislation by the People* and editor *Clothing Trades Bulletin*, New York; Alexander H. Revell, merchant and manufacturer and President of Chicago Civic Federation; *Professor F. W. Taussig* of Harvard University; Jacob A. Riis, author of *How the Other Half Lives*, *The Making of an American*, etc.; *Frederic C. Howe*, author of *The City the Hope of Democracy*, and lawyer, Cleveland; *Clark Howell*, editor *Constitution*, Atlanta, Georgia; *Professor John A. Fairlie*, Michigan University; *Hamilton Holt*, editor *New York Independent*; *Professor J. H. Hollender* of Johns Hopkins University; F. N. Judson, lawyer and publicist, of St. Louis; *John Greene*, editor *Bradstreet's Journal*; H. E. Andrews, President Cleveland Street-Railway Company; *John G. Agar*, President of the Reform Club, New York City; *Samuel Insull*, President of the Edison Company, Chicago; *F. E. Barker*, Chairman of the Massachusetts Board of Gas and Electric Light Commissioners; *Professor Henry C. Adams* of Michigan University, expert statistician to the Interstate Commerce Commission; *Dr. Le Grand Powers*, Chief Statistician of the United States Census; and many other leaders of thought and action from different parts of the Union.

ment, finer relationships among men, and a higher type of character. But this difference of opinion does not prevent me from recognizing in our chairman a man of the highest ability, absolute honesty and most admirable character. From start to finish he stood for fair play and the open door. He wanted all the facts, no matter which way they pointed. He was hearty in his approval of good management and efficient service wherever we found it, whether in public or private undertakings. And it is due to him more than to any other one man that we have a record which is probably as impartial as such a record can be made. The country and the cause of truth owe more to him than is ever likely to be known, for the influence he exerted cannot be represented in words.

Nine of the committee of twenty-one were known to have expressed opinions favorable to municipal-ownership, and five were classed as liberals, inclined toward private-ownership on the whole, but open-minded and free from interests or prejudices likely to interfere with a full appreciation of the facts and a judgment according to the evidence. The other seven members were believed to be firmly convinced of the superiority of private management of lighting and street-railway systems. Three of the seven are financially interested in some of the greatest public-service companies that operate in our eastern cities.

When the committee was organized the writer predicted that the nine publicists and five liberals would be apt to vote together on most propositions, since neither of these groups had any interest, conscious or unconscious, except to bring out the facts in the most effective manner possible; and that some at least of the privatists would, when face to face with the facts, be very apt to vote with the other groups. This prediction came true. For example, when one of the corporation men, the General Manager of the United Gas Improvement Company, moved that the expert valuations

of company plants in Great Britain should be suppressed because they showed that the capitalization of the companies was in many cases largely in excess of tangible assets, wherefore the publication of the valuations might injure the companies, he thought, and also injure company interests in America which had been assured, he said, when they subscribed funds for the investigation, that no such injurious facts would be published,—when this motion was made the chairman entered an indignant protest and immediately declared that if the commission sustained any such view of the matter they could have his resignation in five minutes. The commission did not sustain any such view; the proposed suppression was overwhelmingly disapproved, and the valuations were put in the report for publication. They constitute in fact the most vital and interesting part of the record.

So again, when we came, June 10, 1907, to the adoption of resolutions representing the final conclusions of the commission, the report drawn up by Chairman Ingalls (with some modifications proposed by various members and assented to by the Chairman and other members) was adopted by an almost unanimous vote—only Walton Clark of the United Gas Improvement Company dissenting. President Edgar of the Boston Edison, and W. J. Clark of the General Electric filed exceptions on a few points, but voted with the rest of the commission for the resolutions as a whole. A fair degree of unanimity had been expected by many of us, but no one except the chairman foresaw the almost perfect unison that was in fact attained; he predicted while in England precisely what took place a year later in America.

It could not be expected of course that such a commission, in a series of resolutions intended to express its unities, would take any position on the broad question of the general expediency or inherent superiority of either public or private-ownership. But the specific con-

clusions and special recommendations on which we were able to unite are very favorable to municipal-ownership under good political conditions, as the following extracts from the resolutions clearly show:

"We are of the opinion that a public utility which concerns the health of the citizens should not be left to individuals, where the temptation of profit might produce disastrous results, and therefore it is our judgment that undertakings in which the sanitary motive largely enters should be operated by the public.

"We have come to the conclusion that municipal-ownership of public utilities should not be extended to revenue-producing industries which do not involve the public health, the public safety, public transportation, or the permanent occupation of public streets or grounds, and that municipal operation should not be undertaken solely for profit.

"We are also of the opinion that all future grants to private companies for the construction and operation of public utilities should be terminable after a certain fixed period, and that meanwhile cities should have the right to purchase the property for operation, lease or sale, paying its fair value.

"To carry out these recommendations effectively and to protect the rights of the people, we recommend that the various states should give to their municipalities the authority, upon popular vote, under reasonable regulations, to build and operate public utilities, or to build and lease the same, or to take over works already constructed. In no other way can the people be put upon a fair trading basis and obtain from the individual companies such rights as they ought to have. We believe that this provision will tend to make it to the enlightened self-interest of the public utility companies to furnish adequate service upon fair terms and to this extent will tend to render it unnecessary for the public to take over the existing utilities or to acquire new ones.

"In case the management of public

utilities is left with private companies, the public should retain in all cases an interest in the growth and profits of the future, either by a share of the profit or a reduction of the charges, the latter being preferable as it inures to the benefit of those who use the utilities, while a share of the profits benefits the taxpayers.

"Our investigations teach us that no municipal operation is likely to be highly successful that does not provide for:

"First—An executive manager with full responsibility, holding his position during good behavior.

"Second—Exclusion of political influence and personal favoritism from the management of the undertaking.

"Third—Separation of the finances of the undertaking from those of the rest of the city.

"Fourth—Exemption from the debt limit of the necessary bond issues for revenue-producing utilities, which shall be a first charge upon the property and revenues of such undertaking.

"We found in England and Scotland a high type of municipal government, which is the result of many years of struggle and improvement. Business men seem to take a pride in serving as city councilors or aldermen, and the government of such cities as Glasgow, Manchester, Birmingham and others includes many of the best citizens of the city. These conditions are distinctly favorable to municipal operation.

"In the United States, as is well known, there are many cities not in such a favorable condition. It is charged that the political activity of public-service corporations has, in many instances, been responsible for the unwillingness or inability of American cities to secure a higher type of public-service. This charge we believe to be true. However, there seems to be an idea with many people that the mere taking by the city of all its public utilities for municipal operation will at once result in ideal municipal government through the very necessity of putting honest and compe-

tent citizens in charge. While an increase in the number and importance of municipal functions may have a tendency to induce men of a higher type to become public officials, we do not believe that this of itself will accomplish municipal reform. We are unable to recommend municipal-ownership as a political *panacea*.

"To sum up, certain of the more important of our conclusions are:

"First—Public utilities, whether in public or in private hands, are best conducted under a system of legalized and regulated monopoly.

"Second—Public utilities in which the sanitary motive largely enters should be operated by the public.

"Third—The success of municipal operation of public utilities depends upon the existence in the city of a high capacity for municipal government.

"Fourth—Franchise grants to private corporations should be terminable after a fixed period and meanwhile subject to purchase at a fair value.

"Fifth—Municipalities should have power to enter the field of municipal-ownership upon popular vote under reasonable regulation.

"Sixth—Private companies operating public utilities should be subject to public regulation and examination under a system of uniform records and accounts and of full publicity.

"Seventh—The Committee takes no position on the question of the general expediency of either private or public-ownership. The question must be solved by each municipality in the light of local conditions. What may be possible in one locality may not be in another."

In his dissenting opinion Mr. Walton Clark fails to recognize the success of municipal-ownership, even in the best public plants of Great Britain. He states his belief that "the condition of the British people, individually and collectively, has not been improved by

the municipalization of the industries we have investigated." With all due respect to our genial colleague we ask: Is it not strange that the British people do not know of this failure of municipal-ownership to improve their condition? They think their condition has been greatly improved by municipalization of public utilities, and in consequence they keep on municipalizing just as if they were being benefited by it. They have lived right there in Great Britain under former company managements, and under the succeeding municipal managements, but they have not discovered this most important fact which our colleague was able to discover during our brief visit.

There are some of course in Great Britain who oppose municipal-ownership; some of them hold a theory that the government should be only a policeman, and they are consistently opposed to public-schools, parks, fire departments, water-works, post-office, etc. Some are socialists of the kind who object to municipal operation of public utilities because they want a revolution, and desire to have things remain as bad as possible in order that the people may be finally driven to desperation, and sweep away the whole of the existing industrial system at a stroke. Some are persons opposed to socialism, who confuse municipal-ownership with it, failing to distinguish the public-ownership of public-service monopolies from the demand for government-ownership of all means of production and distribution. Some are men who are connected with existing companies, or held stock in the former companies displaced by public-ownership. It is not easy for a man who holds stock in a public-service company to see the benefits of municipal-ownership, at least in the field of service to which his company belongs. We found some owners and managers of private lighting systems in Great Britain who did not believe in municipal operation of gas and electric light plants, but saw no objection to municipal operation

of tramways, and we found some high officials of private tramways who saw no reason why municipalities should not operate lighting systems, but were firmly convinced that municipal operation of street-railways was a great mistake.

It is much easier for the ordinary stockless man who rides in a better car on half the fare he used to pay the company, or the employé who works 54 to 60 hours a week instead of 77, 84 or 91 under company control, and gets more pay besides, and a share in electing the City Council which manages the road—it is much easier for such people to realize the benefits of municipal-ownership than for those who are directly or indirectly interested in public-service corporations.

The effect of the visit to Great Britain was to very greatly strengthen public-ownership opinion in the commission. Mr. Clark in one of his statements has referred to "the members of the committee who remain municipalizers," implying that the investigation has diminished the public-ownership sentiment among the members. This is an error. The reverse is true. Without exception, those who were "municipalizers" before they went to Great Britain came back still more thoroughly convinced of the value of municipal-ownership, by reason of the clear and massive demonstration of its success in British cities; and some members who were not favorable to municipal-ownership have become so during this investigation. Speaking of one of these cases to a private-ownership man who did not go to England, I said, "He 's very favorable now to public-ownership, though not exactly a municipal-ownership *advocate* as yet." "He 's a darned sight nearer to it than when he went away," replied the private-ownership man.

Early in the work of the commission a steering committee of five was appointed to lay out the details, employ and superintend the engineers and other experts, etc. This sub-committee was composed

of Professors Goodnow and Bemis, Mr. Walton Clark, Dr. Maltbie, and Mr. Sullivan. Professor Commons and Mr. Sullivan were selected to report on labor conditions; Gray on politics, Maltbie on taxation, Goodnow and Fisher on British and American municipalities, etc., and a special committee was appointed to correlate the data gathered by the experts. The functions of this committee and the reasons for it are thus stated in the report:

"It was deemed advisable that the principal facts relating to the investigation should be gathered in concise and simple statements, and the leading interpretations of the data collected by the Commission and its experts be made available to all with a minimum expenditure of time and effort, and freed so far as possible from all technicalities for the benefit of those who may not have the time or technical knowledge enabling them to interpret for themselves schedules and other sources of information upon which this report is based. And in order that such statements might be made from various points of view, the Commission appointed a Committee of Four with power to write collectively or individually according to any plan the members might deem best. This Committee consisted of Prof. E. W. Bemis, Superintendent of Water-Works, Cleveland, Ohio; Prof. Frank Parsons, for many years a lecturer in Boston University Law School, and a writer on law and economics; Mr. Walton Clark, Third Vice-President and General Manager of the United Gas Improvement Company of Philadelphia, which controls the gas works in about fifty cities and towns in the United States, and a Director also of the Public-Service Corporation of New Jersey, which owns nearly all the street-railways and gas and electric companies in that State, and Mr. Charles L. Edgar, President of the Edison Electric Lighting Company of Boston.

"Clark and Parsons remained abroad

for several weeks after the Commission as a whole completed its investigation in Great Britain, and spent much time in the collection of additional data, the latter devoting special study to tramways and electric light; for tramways in Great Britain and electric light in the United States were the topics on which he was to write according to the original division of the work of the Committee of Four.

"According to the plan of work finally adopted the Committee divided into two parts, each making a statement covering the investigation. The first statement is by Bemis and Parsons, with the coöperation of Maltbie, and the second statement is by Clark and Edgar, with the coöperation of W. J. Clark of the General Electric Company."

These statements from the Committee of Four occupy the bulk of the first volume of the report, which is intended as a

popular exposition, at one dollar in paper or two dollars in cloth. The second and third volumes contain the schedules and technical reports and cost four dollars each.

Press abstracts from advance sheets of the statements by Commons and Sullivan and the Committee of Four, have given the public too strong an impression of inharmony. In their presentation and interpretation of the facts the special statements just referred to differ considerably, but the report contains a vast amount of important data in respect to which there is no dispute, and every reader can interpret the facts for himself in the light of his own intelligence alone, if his experience justifies him in relying on that source of illumination for developing and fixing his conclusions.

FRANK PARSONS.

Boston, Mass.

THE SEVEN ALLEGED DELUSIONS OF THE FOUNDER OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE EXAMINED IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY AND PRESENT-DAY RESEARCH.

By B. O. FLOWER.

I. NEW ENGLAND'S MOST REMARKABLE RELIGIO-LEGAL CASE SINCE THE SALEM WITCHCRAFT TRIALS.

WHEN, on August the 21st, the senior counsel for the so-called "next friends" in the action brought to deprive the founder of Christian Science of the custody of her fortune, begged leave to withdraw the suit, the curtain fell on the most remarkable legal case involving religious beliefs in the history of New England since the days of the Salem witchcraft and the persecution of the Quakers.

When the suit was brought, the instigators and chief actors against Mrs. Eddy claimed that there was no inten-

tion of attacking the teachings of Christian Science or the religious tenets of its distinguished founder, but it was noticed that almost immediately the claims and teachings of Mrs. Eddy were made the subjects of attack in the long, aggressive and vigorous campaign conducted on *ex parte* lines by these parties in the daily press. Thus their protestations were belied by their actions, and the claim of Christian Scientists, that the attack was aimed at their religious beliefs, appealed to thoughtful people as being probably true.

It remained, however, for ex-Senator William E. Chandler, the senior counsel for the so-called "next friends," to place the question beyond all controversy, clearly establishing the claim that the religious philosophy or views of Mrs. Eddy, and her claim for her message, were the master objects of attack, or at least, the chief reliance of the prosecution in the attempt to wrest the fortune from the venerable head of the Christian Science church.

Mr. Chandler demanded that Mrs. Eddy be deprived of the custody or direction of her fortune, alleging as a master reason that she had been for years the victim of seven clearly-defined delusions, all seven of which related to her religious teachings or her belief in regard to the character and influence of those teachings. With this declaration from the chief spokesman of those bringing the suit, the case ceased to be merely a legal contest between a venerable woman and fortune-hunting relatives, and became at once a case of nation-wide interest and of profound concern not only to all friends of religious freedom, but also to the people in general, as it vitally involved the fundamental rights of free citizens. For obviously, if a person has, during the greater part of a life-time marked by industry and good citizenship, entertained and promulgated religious views that run counter to those entertained by the majority of the people, and then is to be suddenly denied the right of the disposal of the property that he has earned during the years while he cherished these beliefs, on the ground that his theological opinions and teachings in the eyes of the majority are delusions, the ground will be laid for the despoiling of tens of thousands of citizens who might easily find themselves the victims of fortune-hunting relatives whose passion for unearned gold is greater than their regard for human rights, reverence for age or considerations of the ties of blood, especially when wealthy outside individuals, who have ulterior or secret

motives, are ready to gamble on the result or to furnish money to employ shrewd, determined and resourceful counsel and to otherwise finance the cases instituted to deprive citizens of the results of a life-time of toil, for the enrichment of those who have never contributed one cent to the fortune which they covet.

Frequently in families are found persons who are shiftless, idle or incompetent to make a living for themselves and who regard with jealous and covetous eyes the honestly earned wealth of those about them, and when such persons have blunted moral perceptions, how easily they might become the tools of unscrupulous parties in attempts to *wrest* property from its rightful owners, if the fundamental rights of the citizen should be invaded as Mr. Chandler sought to invade them in the case of Mrs. Eddy, when he cited cardinal tenets of her religious teachings and her conviction as to the character and influence of her message as insane delusions that "had led, or would lead, to *Senile Dementia*."

The far-reaching and sinister character of the question here raised is sufficiently apparent to appeal to all thinking people, but it is not our purpose to dwell further on this phase of the case, but rather to examine in the light of history and modern research *these seven alleged delusions*, as here will be found a subject that is as suggestive and thought-stimulating as it is timely and interesting, and the facts brought to light will be surprising to those who have never considered the mighty philosophical concepts of the ages, the life-stories of the great religious leaders, or the recent discoveries and theories in the domain of psychology; and it will be shown as our investigation proceeds, that if Mr. Chandler's criterion is to be accepted, many of earth's profoundest philosophers, many of those intellectual giants, whose thought falls athwart the intellectual pathway of man with sun-like radiance, must be adjudged

mentally incompetent because they have fostered delusions that foreshadow *Senile Dementia*. Furthermore, we shall see that from the foundation of Christianity many of the master leaders of thought in the religious history of Western civilization, if judged by the standards insisted upon by the senior counsel for the "next friends," would also be found insane or cherishing delusions; and,

finally, by parity of reasoning, if Mr. Chandler be right in regard to his contention as it relates to the last or third group of alleged delusions, many of the world's greatest scientists,—men like Sir Oliver Lodge, Sir William Crookes, Liébeault and others fully as eminent, could not hope to be fortunate enough to escape the proposed insanity dragnet.

II. THE SEVEN ALLEGED DELUSIONS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE.

In addressing the matters appointed to inquire into the mental competency of Mrs. Eddy, Mr. Chandler advanced, as the master reason why the founder of Christian Science should not be permitted to manage her estate or indicate who should manage it, the claim that she was possessed by seven fixed delusions "which had influenced her whole life and which has resulted, or will result, in *Senile Dementia*." These alleged delusions he enumerated as follows:

"1. Fundamental delusion of the non-existence and non-reality of the physical universe.

"2. Delusion of the supernatural nature of the science which she calls her own, and of its supernatural revelation to her.

"3. Delusions conferring upon the diseases of mankind their cure and prevention.

"4. Delusions as to the relation of the

science she calls hers to philosophy and to Christianity.

"5. Delusion as to the nature and existence of malicious animal magnetism.

"6. Delusion as to the alleged operation of this malicious animal magnetism in the causing and curing of disease.

"7. Delusion as to the alleged operation of this malicious animal magnetism in the perpetration of crime."

It will be observed that these seven alleged delusions fall into three divisions which may be classified as follows:

1. The Metaphysical Concept in regard to the physical universe.

2. Remarkable and unusual personal experiences and belief in regard to the nature and influence of her message.

3. Belief in regard to the potential power for good or evil, and especially for evil, of suggestion or thought-transference, termed animal magnetism, hypnotism, etc.

III. THE METAPHYSICAL CONCEPT OF THE PHYSICAL UNIVERSE.

The delusion which in his list is given primacy, is Mrs. Eddy's religious or philosophical concept relating to the physical universe,—the non-reality of matter. One would almost imagine from Mr. Chandler's address that this concept (which is placed at the head of the list of alleged delusions that incapacitated Mrs. Eddy for the management of the property she has earned while holding the belief) is a new idea, a childish vagary of a disordered mind; while as a matter of fact,

this concept is neither strange nor new. Throughout the ages, some of the most profound and subtle thinkers have held beliefs that are substantially in accord with the concept on which Mr. Chandler bases this claim of insanity, and which he characterizes as the "non-existence and non-reality of the physical universe." To the metaphysical philosopher, that which is eternal and immutable is the real. That which is fleeting, temporal, changing, perishing and unsubstantial

partakes of the nature of the shadow rather than of reality. The world of which the physical senses take cognizance is a changing, fleeting and insubstantial world compared with the world of ideas. Thus to the metaphysical philosopher, strange as it may appear to the materialistic reasoner, that which is seen is temporal, fleeting and less real than that which is unseen; or, as the great Apostle to the Gentiles puts it: "The things that are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal."*

CONCEPT OF THE ANCIENT INDIAN PHILOSOPHERS.

If we go back to the ancient cradle of civilization and philosophy we shall find that those deep, subtle and introspective thinkers of the Far East, whose profound thought has justly challenged the admiration of men like Max Müller and our own Emerson, held ideas that partook far more of the metaphysical than the materialistic concept in regard to man and the physical universe. To them Deity was Absolute Intelligence,—the Mind of the Universe. Professor M. N. D'vivedi, a profound Eastern savant, in explaining the religion of the Hindoos at the World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago, said: "The All is self-illuminated, All Thought, the very Being of the Universe. Being implies Thought, and the All may, in the Vadanate philosophy, be aptly described as the essence of Thought and Being."† By thought he further explained he meant "Absolute Intelligence, Absolute Mind as opposed to matter."‡

The great Hindoo or Brahmin philosophers held to the illusionary character of this world of phenomena and of the dream-life lived by what they called the habitual self, in counter-distinction to the real self, which was eternal, immutable

and of the nature of the Supreme Self or Deity. They held that man was passing through successive dream lives, immeshed in the illusion of sense-perception, seeking satisfaction in the transient, changing and unreal phenomena of the sense-world, and that not until through successive failures the habitual self permitted the real self to gain supremacy could the soul know such a thing as happiness or realize the felicity of the Child of Infinite Life and Truth. They identified the real soul of the individual with the All or Supreme Self, thus arriving "at the most intensely idealistic system ever constructed by man." The Brahmin philosophers believed that the future of the soul depended on the knowledge of the essential oneness of the higher self with the Supreme Self or Deity. They held resolutely to the idea that the habitual self was not the real self; that the world of sense-perception was merely a "pictorial world appealing to us and approaching us from below." They held that under all this changing flow of things there is the unchanging reality, the higher self in us, which is lasting, immemorial, eternal.* Our outward appetites, they believed, belonged to the "mirror world," "the world of dreams." The things which the eye of sense took cognizance of were ever changing, undergoing transformation, passing from view, and thus they regarded them as illusionary or temporal. And life, that was persistently fixed on these things, that wandered hither and thither seeking peace, happiness or satisfaction while fastening its eyes and desires on these illusionary, unreal or temporal things, they called dream-life; while the All, the Absolute Intelligence, or the Mind and the higher self of the individual, or the soul, that is in quest of its own, that is seeking to come into perfect rapport with the Supreme Self, they held to be the great Realities of the Universe. This idea of the difference

*Second Corinthians: 4:18.

†*World's Parliament of Religions*. Vol I., page 325.

‡*Ibid.*, page 333.

**The Theosophy of the Upanishads*, edited by Charles Johnson. Part I., p. 113.

between what the metaphysical call the unreal and the real, as we have already seen, is in accord with the Bible concept as enunciated by St. Paul. The higher self, like Deity, they held to be "self-existent, self-subsistent, self-poised, self-based, above time, free from space, absolutely independent of mutation."* We deliberately, they further held, conjure to ourselves a self of appetites and a self of dreams. This bondage will not cease until the soul realizes its oneness with Deity. Then it will know the peace that passes all understanding, and infinite felicity. Then it will enjoy eternal life. Jesus taught this same idea in simpler and more intelligible words when he declared that to know God was Life Eternal.

THE CONCEPT OF PLATO IN REGARD TO
THE WORLD OF SIGHT
AND SENSE.

Coming down to Plato, we find that this greatest of all the idealistic philosophers, observing that in the physical world all which the senses took cognizance of was subject to change and death, all either "becoming or perishing," came to regard the physical world, or the world of sight, as a shadow world, and the world of ideas as the real world. In Books Six and Seven of *The Republic*, these views are amplified. The great Grecian philosopher tried to explain his views in an intelligible manner to his disciples, employing various illustrations. The physical eye, in Book Six, he compares to the soul or mind,—"the real self of man." The sun, which he terms "the child of Good," was to the world of sense perception what "the Good" or "the author of science and truth," was to the soul. The eye, he points out, could not fully behold the full splendor of the objective world without the light of the sun. When the light that was essential to vision was from the reflected light of the moon or stars, the eye failed

**Theosophy of the Upanishads*. Part I., page 129.

to see the color, tone or full splendor of the objective world, and he concludes, "The soul is like the eye when resting upon that on which truth and being shine; the soul perceives and understands and is radiant with intelligence: but when turned towards the twilight of the coming and perishing (the shadow world of sense perception), then she has opinion only, and goes blinking about."† To clearly impress his idea as to the unreality of the world visible to the physical eye or to the sense perceptions in comparison to the world of reality, of permanency, of truth, Plato employed a striking allegory.§ In this allegory, he pictures a number of men whom he represents as being chained in a den under ground "which has a mouth open toward the light and reaching along the den." They are fastened so they cannot even turn their heads, but must look straight ahead of them. Behind at some distance a great fire is burning, and between them and the fire on a raised platform men are going to and fro bearing all manner of articles. Their shadows fall on the wall in front of the chained men. They talk with one another, and the cave is so constructed that the echoes of their voices seem to come from the shadows. The prisoners in the den, it will be remembered, see nothing but the shadows, and hear nothing but the echoes. They have been thus from childhood. Now Plato supposes one of the prisoners to be released, and he says, "At first, when any of them is released and compelled to suddenly stand up and turn his neck around and walk and look toward the light, he will suffer sharp pains. The glare will distress him. He will be unable to see the realities of change; in his former state he had seen the shadows. Then conceive someone saying to him that what he saw before was an illusion, but that now, when he was approaching

†*The Dialogues of Plato*, translated by B. Jowett, M.A., Vol. III. *The Republic*, Book Six, page 209.

§Book Seven of *The Republic*, pp. 214 to 218 of above work.

nearer to being and his eyes turn towards real existence, he has clearer vision. What will be his reply? Will he not fancy that the shadows which he formerly saw are truer than the objects which are now shown to him?"

Again: "Suppose once more," says the philosopher, "that he is reluctantly dragged up a steep and rugged ascent and held fast until he is forced into the presence of the sun himself, is he not liable to be pained and irritated? When he approaches the light, his eyes will be dazzled and he will not be able to see anything at all of what are now called realities." He then goes on to show how the man will have to become gradually accustomed to the real things. He will see them first mirrored in water, in the moonlight, in the starlight. Later his eyes will be able to see them in their true beauty in the sunlight; and that which before was vague, shadowy or unreal to him will then become truth or reality, and he will see and understand that all those things which he thought were realities when chained below, were merely shadows and echoes. Plato then concludes: "The prison-house is the world of sight. The light of the fire is the sun, and you will not misapprehend me if you interpret the journey upwards to the ascent of the soul."

Here we see Plato clearly illustrating his concepts that the world of sense is more a shadow world than the things of reason or that which intelligence and the soul takes cognizance of. In other words, it is the metaphysician's declaration of the non-reality or the shadow-character of the physical world perceived by the physical senses. Plato could not conceive of the Supreme Good creating the imperfect, insubstantial and perishing. Hence he inclined to believe in two powers, one the Supreme Good, which took cognizance of the things of the soul or the intellectual or spiritual world, the other the ruler of or the Deity for the Shadow-world of sight and sense.*

*The Republic, Book Six, pp. 210 to 211.

KANT'S CONCEPT IN REGARD TO THE MATERIAL UNIVERSE.

Emmanuel Kant, the most profound of all the German transcendental philosophers and one of the deepest thinkers of modern civilization, not only held to the metaphysical concept, but boldly advanced beyond the positions that had been taken by many of his metaphysical predecessors, in that he held that the phenomenal world, or the world of sight and sense was the result not of God's creation, but of human understanding or sense-perception. He held that "the corporeal world is nothing but phenomenal, and sense perceptions are the material out of which it is built."† Kant held that the philosopher in considering the phenomena of life was confronted by sense perceptions, understanding and reason. He affirmed that animals possess sense-perception; that man possesses sense-perception, understanding and reason; and God, the Absolute, took cognizance only of reason.

"The corporeal world of phenomena" "does not exist at all for Him."‡ It will be observed that Kant advanced beyond the position occupied by the Hindoo philosophers who, though regarding the sense-world as fleeting, illusionary and unreal in comparison with the Absolute Reality, Mind and Its ideas; yet they did not divorce the phenomenal world from the consciousness of Deity. Even Plato is distanced by Kant in the radical stand taken by the great modern philosopher, for as we have seen, Plato held that the Good, the Absolute, the Real, could not be the Father or the Lord of the fleeting, the temporal, the changing, the evil, or the unreal, and so advanced the idea of two lords, one the Good, the Ruler of the real, the unchanging universe of ideas; the other the lord of the

†See Paulsen's *Kant*, pp. 242-243.

‡See Paulsen's *Kant*, pp. 262-3.

The teachings of Kant will be luminously presented in the November ARENA by Judge L. H. Jones in a masterly paper entitled, "Kant's Doctrine That the Human Mind is Both the Creator and the Law-Giver of the Physical Universe."

phenomenal or shadow world of sight and sense. But Kant boldly holds that the world of sense-perception is not even created by God but that it is the product of sense-perception and understanding, and that God takes no cognizance of it. As one great German professor has observed, "Kant was the first who dared to say, 'It may sound exaggerated and absurd to say the undersanding is the source of both of the laws and the unity of nature. It is correct, nevertheless, and accords with experience.'"

It will be observed that the teachings of Mrs. Eddy on this same subject present in a simple manner the same ideas advanced by the great German philosopher. The author of *Science and Health* states that her concepts came as the result or outcome of years of deep study of the Bible, and especially of the life, deeds and words of Christ Jesus, and His apostles, as found in the New Testament.

Now the question arises, is a philosophy so nearly akin in many points to the conclusion of many of the profoundest philosophers of ancient India, in such substantial accord, in regard to the world of "sight and sense," with Plato, the master idealistic philosopher of all ages, and in such perfect agreement with the

concept of Emmanuel Kant, the most profound transcendental philosopher of Germany, to be adjudged in the twentieth century as an evidence of insanity? Is one who thus believes and teaches to be regarded as possessed by "delusions" that favor *Senile Dementia*? If so, it were well for Plato and Kant that they did not live, think and proclaim their thoughts in the twentieth century America of William E. Chandler.

It is not necessary for one to accept the metaphysical philosophy in order to respect the thought which this school has given the world. One, for example, may find in the evolutionary theory of the development of life a more convincing hypothesis than the metaphysical explanation of "the becoming and perishing" phenomenal world, that confronts the meditative mind, but if he be broad-visioned or intellectually hospitable, he will accord to the other thinkers the same right he asks for himself, and he will hold in respect the opinions of those whom he knows to have been among the most profound thinkers the world of philosophy has known, when they give to mankind the mature conclusions of long years of deep meditation and research, as they relate to the master problem of the ages.

IV. THE ALLEGED DELUSION CONCERNING THE UNUSUAL PERSONAL EXPERIENCES AND THE CONVICTION REGARDING THE CHARACTER AND PRACTICAL VALUE OF THE MESSAGE.

We now come to examine the second group of alleged delusions. These relate to the unusual personal experiences and the conviction of the founder of Christian Science in regard to the character and practical value of her message.

To the student of theological history the unusual experiences of Mrs. Eddy will not occasion surprise for he knows that one of the most striking and interesting facts in the lives of the great religious leaders is their extraordinary

religious experiences, which impressed them, in many instances, with the conviction that they were, in a peculiar sense instruments of the Divine Mind for the furtherance of a special work in leading men to righteousness and to a fuller apprehension of the eternal spiritual verities. It will not be necessary to go beyond the pale of historic Christianity for illustrations of this character.

Here two things will impress us at every turn. The great teachers were

usually assailed and denounced as insane, as possessed by devils, and as questionable characters, whether considered mentally or morally. On the other hand, we find that these leaders were filled with moral enthusiasm and spiritual exaltation, over-mastered, as it were, by their message, and consecrated to their work, and that their lives were attended or marked by many strange and unusual experiences.

Even the great Founder of Christianity was on two occasions charged by the Jews with having a devil* (a term applied in those days to persons who would, in our time, be called insane). He was also charged, according to His own testimony, with being a "wine-bibber" and a friend and associate of the lowest classes of society—the publicans and sinners. So general and pronounced was the prejudice in conventional circles against the great Nazarene,—so positive was the opinion that he was not sane, well-balanced or a respectable character, that persons wishing to retain social station and who also desired to see Jesus, found it wise and expedient to seek Him under the cover of the darkness. The case of Nicodemus is an illustration of this fact.

When the Apostle Paul appeared before the Roman ruler, Festus, and King Agrippa, and proclaimed his own strange experiences and the story of the life, death and resurrection of Jesus, the tale was so incredible to the materialistic, sensual and pleasure-seeking Roman ruler that we are told "he cried out in a loud voice, Paul, thou art beside thyself! Much learning hath made thee mad!"† Moreover, Paul's experiences were of so unusual a character that, according to Mr. Chandler's theory, the great Apostle to the Gentiles must surely have been the victim of delusions that threatened *Senile Dementia*; for where in history do we find more remarkable experiences than his from the time when, on the road to Damascus he was overpowered by the

†Acts, 26:24.

light, falling "into the truth, to rise a just man," till he reached Rome, there to preach the gospel under the shadow of the Caesars' throne? All through his wonderful career we find him constantly the recipient of extraordinary experiences. He believed he was visited by spiritual messengers,§ who informed him as to coming events. We are told he was bitten by a poisonous snake but suffered no hurt, and in numbers of other instances he was recipient of experiences quite unknown to ordinary people.

The remarkable experiences narrated in the history of the church fathers and saints are too voluminous to dwell upon. But coming down to the Renaissance, we find the great Italian monk and religious reformer, Savonarola, beholding visions, hearing voices, and uttering prophecies which are fulfilled with startling precision.

Martin Luther, the master mind of the Protestant Reformation, affirmed that the devil appeared before him and he held controversy with him. He even went so far as to throw his ink stand at his Satanic majesty, who instantly vanished, but the ink stain on the wall has been shown to the curious visitor for generations. Luther also claimed on one occasion, at least, to have restored the dying to health. The sick, in this instance, was Luther's great friend and co-religious reformer, Philip Melancthon. Leckendoye thus describes this notable instance of healing:

"Luther arrived and found Philip about to give up the ghost. His eyes were set, his understanding was almost gone, his speech had failed, and also his hearing; his face had fallen, he knew no one, and had ceased to take either solids or liquids. At this spectacle Luther is filled with the utmost consternation. Turning way towards the window he called most devoutly upon God. After this, taking the hand of Philip and well knowing what was the anxiety of

§Acts, 27:23

§Acts, 28:5-5.

his heart and conscience, he said, 'Be of good courage, Philip; thou shalt not die.' While he utters these things Philip begins, as it were, to revive and to breathe, and gradually recovering his strength, is at last restored to health."

Next we come to John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, one of the most commanding and masterful spirits in the religious history of Christendom, a man who reached the ripe age of eighty-eight, and whose genius for organization no less than his force of character, moral enthusiasm and profound faith, made Methodism before his death a great religious power in England. Yet, according to Mr. Chandler's theory, this great man, whose followers to-day number many millions in England and America, was also the victim of insane delusions; for the historian Green in speaking of Wesley says:

"He lived in a world of wonders and divine interpositions. It was a miracle if the rain stopped and allowed him to set forward on a journey. It was a judgment of heaven if a hailstorm burst over a town which had been deaf to his preaching. One day, he tells us, when he was tired and his horse fell lame, 'I thought cannot God heal either man or beast by any means or without any?—immediately my headache ceased and my horse's lameness in the same instant.' With a still more childish fanaticism he guided his conduct, whether in ordinary events or in the great crises of his life, by drawing lots or watching the particular texts at which his Bible opened."*

Southey, in his *Life of Wesley*, says: "He believed in the ministry of both good and evil spirits, 'Certainly,' said he, 'it is as easy for a spirit to speak to our hearts as a man to speak to our ears.'"+

Wesley furthermore held that many of the accidents of life and bodily hurt were the result of evil spirits. "When they

are not permitted," Southey quotes Wesley as saying, "to take away life, they may inflict various diseases, and many of these which we may judge to be natural are undoubtedly diabolical."§ He believed this was frequently the case with lunatics.

Here we find a man, if we are to accept Mr. Chandler's claim, beset by delusions that would naturally point towards *Senile Dementia*, that would render him incompetent to administer business affairs. Unfortunately for Mr. Chandler, the facts in this remarkable instance are, as in the case of Mrs. Eddy, all against the attorney's contention. John Wesley not only administered his own affairs in such a manner as to indicate sound mentality, but he also directed the organization and movement of his church in such a way as to prove him endowed with superior mental capacity as an organizer and executive. Moreover, he lived to an exceptional age. Of his capacity and his life work I quote again from Green:

"In power as a preacher he stood next to Whitfield; as a hymn-writer he stood second to his brother Charles. But while combining in some degree the excellences of either, he possessed qualities in which both were utterly deficient; an indefatigable industry, a cool judgment, a command over others, a faculty of organization, a singular union of patience and moderation with an imperious ambition, which marked him as a ruler of men. He had besides a learning and a skill in writing which no other of the Methodists possessed; he was older than any of his colleagues at the start of the movement, and he outlived them all. His life indeed almost covers the century. He was born in 1703 and lived on till 1791, and the Methodist body had passed through every phase of its history before he sank into the grave at the age of eighty-eight."*

Next we come to Swedenborg. If

§See Southey's *Life of Wesley*, Vol. II., p. 259. Note 14.

**History of England*, by John Richard Green, Vol. IV., p. 145. Am. Ed.

†Southey's *Life of Wesley*, Vol. II., p. 86.

*Vol. IV., *History of England*, by John Richard Green, p. 145.

any man could be claimed to be incompetent to administer his business affairs or pass on worldly things, because of remarkable religious experiences and amazing belief in regard to the origin and character of his message or revelation, it was Emmanuel Swedenborg. The eminent scientific standing and social position of this savant make the case somewhat unique. He was born in 1688 and lived to 1772. His father was Professor of Theology at Upsala and Bishop of Skara. At college Emmanuel excelled in Greek, Hebrew, Latin and in mathematics, but he disappointed his father because he had no taste whatever for theology. He finished his university course at Upsala in 1710, after which he traveled in France, Germany, Holland and England, making a special study of natural philosophy. In 1715, he returned to Upsala, and devoted his time to natural science and technical research. He soon gained an eminent position as a careful investigator in the domain of science. As the years passed his fame greatly increased and his voluminous works on science secured him a high place among the most eminent scientists of Europe. King Charles the XII. of Sweden made him assayer in the Swedish College of Mines, and on the death of the King, Queen Ulrica ennobled the family.

In 1744, when in the very prime of his life and in the meridian period of his researches, his wonderful psychic experiences began to take place. He characterizes them as the opening of his spiritual sight, and declared that his long work in the domain of natural science was intended by God to prepare him for the great revelation he was to receive. Swedenborg, himself, declared that Christ appeared to him, saying: "I am the Lord, God, the Christ and Redeemer of the world. I have chosen thee to unfold the spiritual sense of the

Holy Scripture. I will Myself declare to thee what thou shalt write."

In 1747, he determined to devote his whole life to the revelations which he believed were coming to him. His high position in the scientific and in the social world, and the fact that he seemed to win the confidence and respect of all who knew him, prevented him from becoming the victim of calumnies, slander and misrepresentations, as has been the case with most religious leaders. True, if he had lived in the Spain of the Inquisition or in the Geneva of John Calvin, he most probably would have been burned to death, and had he lived in New Hampshire, in the United States, in 1907, he probably would have been denounced as insane and incompetent to manage his own property. But the Swedish government, instead of taking away the right to manage his own property from this man who made such amazing claims, pensioned him for the rest of his life, and thus enabled him to devote his whole time to his spiritual researches, unhampered by poverty. He reached the ripe age of eighty-four, and during the last half of his eventful life produced a veritable library of religious works.

Space prevents our noticing the strange and extraordinary experiences of George Fox, the great leader of the Quakers, and of other religious leaders, but in all the cases cited, and many that might be introduced, the extraordinary personal experiences of the great religious leaders, and their profound conviction as to the special character of their message, were so out of the ordinary that, judged by Mr. Chandler's criterion, each must be adjudged as harboring delusions which pointed toward *Senile Dementia*. The only unfortunate circumstance for the insanity theory is that these persons usually exercised excellent judgment and practical common sense, and in no case did *Senile Dementia* supervene.

V. THE ALLEGED DELUSION IN REGARD TO ANIMAL MAGNETISM, SUGGESTION, OR HYPNOTISM.

We now come to notice the third group in this list of alleged delusions,—the one which relates to the action of one mind over another in such a way as to compass special results that would not have been produced had the subject been left to himself, unfettered by another mind or will, and especially the exercise of a subtle influence when the mental faculties of the subject are either off guard or in the power of the operator. This power or influence has been variously termed animal magnetism, mesmerism and suggestion. If exerted with an evil purpose, it has been characterized malicious animal magnetism. When the subject brought under control has first been thrown into a sleep and then made the subject of suggestion, it is termed hypnotism.

Before attempting to ascertain whether the Christian Science teachings in regard to animal magnetism or suggestion have valid foundation in experience, and whether the modern research of trained physicians and scientists—men accepted as authoritative in the world of psychic science and psychology—tend to support the theory of the Christian Scientists, we wish to remind the reader that in no domain of scientific investigation is it so dangerous to dogmatize as in the field of psychology. All intelligent persons, who are sufficiently familiar with recent discoveries, experiments and assured results in the domain of psychic science or psychology, realize how important it is to be guarded and cautious in advancing conclusions relating to the action of mind on mind, or of assuming to rule out of court unusual experiences, simply because they are not susceptible of explanation by the old rules of psychology. The fact that during the past century there has been a complete revolution in the scientific world in regard to

mesmerism, suggestion or hypnotism and allied phenomena, is not open to question, and this alone renders dogmatic assumptions an evidence of ignorance or an unscientific attitude of mind. To appreciate the significance of this fact and its implications, it is only necessary to call to mind the history of mesmerism or hypnotism since 1784, when the French government appointed a commission known as "The Bailey Committee" to investigate mesmerism, which was then popularly known as animal magnetism. Among the distinguished men who served on this committee was Benjamin Franklin. In the report of the committee the claims of mesmeric or magnetic power put forth by Mesmer were denounced as false and without foundation, in fact, and to use the words of Mr. Bailey: "Magnetism is one fact more in the history of human error, and a great proof of the power of the imagination."

In 1841, the eminent English surgeon, James Braid, determined to expose mesmerism, which he, in common with his scientific brethren, believed to be an unmitigated fraud. Dr. Braid soon came to realize that mesmerism was far from being an unadulterated fraud. Accordingly, he entered upon the laborious task of demonstrating and critically noting facts connected with his experiments. In 1842, he published his notable work, entitled *Neurypnology*. Immediately he encountered a storm of hostile criticism. Nevertheless his clear utterances and the methods employed gained for him the thoughtful consideration of several eminent continental thinkers, who were less fettered by conservatism than his English brethren, and a score of years later, hypnotism (the name coined by Dr. Braid to take the place of mesmerism) was attracting much attention among

leading physicians and other scientific investigators in France and other continental nations. To-day no intelligent scientist or physician questions the truth of Dr. Braid's facts and conclusions, which were so universally scoffed at when they were first given to the public. And more than this, a vast volume of evidence has resulted from the experiments of leading physicians and savants—master scientific investigators in the realm of psychology—which prove that persons may be rendered absolutely insensible by hypnotic suggestion, so that capital surgical operations may be performed without patients being conscious that anything is taking place. On this point, I quote the testimony of Professor William James of Harvard, the most eminent psychologist in America. "Legs and breasts may be amputated, children born, teeth extracted, in short, the most painful experiences undergone, with no other anesthetic than the hypnotizer's assurance that no pain shall be felt. Similarly, morbid pains may be annihilated, neuralgias, toothaches, rheumatisms cured. The sensation of hunger has thus been abolished, so that a patient took no nourishment for fourteen days."*

Again, the potency of suggestion has been shown in numerous instances where applications, entirely inert in themselves, when accompanied by suggestions that they are irritant poisons,—a fly blister, for example,—exhibit all the symptoms of the poison which the suggestor claimed had been applied. Space renders it only possible to cite one of many well authenticated cases that might be given to illustrate this profoundly significant fact.

The experiment which we select is of special value because it was witnessed by a number of eminent scientists under strictly test condition. The subject in the case was a girl—Elise F.—who had proved very susceptible to hypnotic suggestion in the hands of the distinguished

scientist, Professor Beaunis. The experiments were made before such noted scientists as Liebeault, Bernheim, Liegeois and Beaunis. The account of this remarkable case is taken from Dr. Frederick Björnström's standard work on hypnotism, and is as follows:

"Elise was hypnotized towards 11 A. M. On her back, at a point which the girl could not possibly reach with her hand, a strip of eight gummed stamps was fastened, after a strip of the same kind had for eighteen hours been applied to the arm of another person, without causing the slightest effect. Over the stamps an ordinary bandage was fixed, so as to simulate a plaster of Spanish flies, and she was three times given to understand that Spanish flies had been applied to her. She was closely watched during the day and was locked up alone in her chamber over night, after she had been put in hypnotic sleep with the assertion that she was not going to awake until seven o'clock on the following morning,—which took place punctually. An hour later, F. removed the bandage in the presence of Bernheim, Liegeois, Liebeault, Beaunis, etc. It was first ascertained that the stamps had not been disturbed. They were removed and the underlying surface of the skin now showed the following changes: on a space of four or five centimeters the epidermis was thicker, yellowish white, and inflamed, but as yet not raised into blisters; the surrounding skin showed intense redness and swelling to the extent of half a centimeter. The spot was covered with a dry compress, in order to be further investigated later on; three hours after, the spot had the same appearance. At 4 P. M. the spot was photographed, and it now showed four or five blisters, which also plainly appeared in the photograph. These blisters gradually increased and secreted a thick, milky serum. On the 28th day of May—fourteen days later—the spot was still in full suppuration."

**Principles of Psychology*, by William James, Professor of Psychology in Harvard University. Vol. II., p. 606.

Many remarkable cures of functional diseases have been reported by leading American and European physicians by means of hypnotic suggestion after material remedies had proved ineffective. Indeed, a volume might easily be filled with such citations, but the length of this paper renders it impossible to introduce even typical cases at this time.

Physicians who are successful as hypnotizers recognize the fact that frequently diseases can be cured or the thought and conduct of the individual changed by positive suggestion, even though not accompanied by hypnotic trance. Dr. Hamilton Osgood, one of Boston's most eminent physicians, related to us a number of striking cases of this character, and some very notable cases have come under our personal observation.

Now, if the mind can exert such an influence as to make one insensible to the knife; make a postage stamp act as a fly blister; cure in cases where material remedies have failed,—is it safe to assume that those who assert that such power is being exerted in greater degree than men imagine are the victims of delusions, especially in view of the fact that three generations ago, any one who would have declared possible the things that later Liebeault, Beaunis, Charcot, and scores of others have proved beyond all cavil, would have been denounced by the scientific world as either charlatans or as victims of insane delusions? Furthermore, if the power of mind is so potential in the service of surgery or in the cure of disease, or in making inert substances act as powerful poisons, is it unreasonable to believe that suggestions exerted by evilly disposed persons might work evil? Indeed, may it not be potential for crime; may not immorality and wrong be fostered by suggestion? We know on this point scientists and specialists competent to express opinion are divided, many holding that if a suggestion is repulsive to one's moral sensibilities, it is powerless; but if such

is the case, how can we account for the supremely tragic phenomenon that is so frequently observed at the present time, in which a young woman falls under the psychological spell of a *roué*? She may have been entirely uninfluenced by men she has met and associated with for years; temptations that might have proved too great for many other girls in similar positions have been resisted with apparently no special effort on her part. She is in no sense a pervert, and all her impulses, judging from previous and subsequent actions, show that the wrongdoing was against the dictates of her reason, conscience and natural inclinations; yet under the spell of the *roué* how often she becomes as clay in the potter's hands, or as a leaf on a swift current.

We once knew a young man who was far from gifted with good looks. His head retreated from his chin; his complexion was poor; his hair was thin and sandy in color; his eyes were a very light gray and not expressive; and yet, he played havoc with women. On one occasion, he boasted that he would like to see the woman who could resist him if he was able to associate with her for a reasonable length of time and without anyone prejudicing the party against him. Though his confidence in his ability to do evil was undoubtedly exaggerated, his power over women was positive and baleful in the extreme, and it was not due either to personal appearance or power to convince by reason, but rather by that strange, subtle power exerted by the modern Svengalis who walk our streets but do not have to throw their subjects into a trance in order to bring them under their baleful influence. Moreover, many distinguished hypnotists and scientists have held to the possibility of crime being produced by suggestion, and the experiments of such preëminent scientists as Doctors Liebeault, Liegeois and others tend strongly to substantiate this position. Certainly, the evidence and conclusions are, or should be, sufficient to show how

absurd is the claim that a person holding to the belief that evil influence can result from a malicious intent on the part of the suggestor, is the victim of a fixed delusion. As bearing on this phase of the discussion, we desire to quote the following from Frederick W. H. Myers' monumental work on *Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death*. Mr. Myers did not himself hold to the belief that crime could be produced by hypnotism, if the propensity for crime was not already present in the mind of the subject, but he gives the following relative to this question from the experiences of two of the greatest authorities of Europe.

"The question of 'hypnotic crimes' was thoroughly discussed by Dr. Liebeault in his book, *Du Sommeil et des États Analogues* (1886). Later, Dr. Liegeois, whose speciality is medical jurisprudence, made many experiments with Dr. Liebeault's patients to test the practicability of criminal suggestion. He suggested to them fictitious crimes, such as murder, theft, perjury, etc., and made them give him receipts for money which he had never really lent them. One subject was induced to fire a revolver, which she was told was loaded, at a magistrate; another at her own mother; the latter subject was also made to accuse herself before a magistrate of having committed a murder. A young man dissolved in water a powder which he was told was arsenic, and gave it to his aunt to drink; afterwards he completely forgot the act. These experiments were published in 1884 in a memoir entitled *La Suggestion Hypnotique dans ses Rapports avec le Droit Civil et le Droit Criminel*, which was expanded in 1899 into a book, *De la Suggestion et du Somnambulisme dans leurs Rapports avec la Jurisprudence et la Médecine Légale*.

Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing, in *Die gerichtlich medicinische Bedeutung der Suggestion* (published in *Archiv für Kriminal-Anthropologie und Kriminalistik*, Leipzig, 1900), distinguishes three

classes of crimes which might be aided by suggestion: (1) crimes against a hypnotized person, of which a few instances have been known to occur; (2) crimes committed by means of hypnotized persons; and (3) crimes incited by suggestion in the waking state. About the possibility of the second class, there is much difference of opinion; some authors, as Fuchs and Benedikt, denying it completely, while others, as Liebeault and Leigeois, think it sufficiently important to be taken account of in the administration of justice; Bernheim and Forel, again, take an intermediate view. Liebeault, as quoted by Schrenck-Notzing, instances a boy who had often been made to commit small thefts by way of experiment, and who afterwards developed kleptomania.

"Under the head of crimes caused by suggestion in the waking state, Schrenck-Notzing quotes the Sauter case (1899) in which a woman was accused of attempts to commit several murders by unlawful means (black magic). The evidence showed that she had been incited to these attempts by a fortune-teller playing on her superstitious and hysterical temperament. Falsification of evidence by suggestion comes under the same head, *e. g.*, in the trial of Berchtold for murder at Munich in 1896, newspaper reports of the trial excited the public mind, and produced a crop of false witnesses, who made on oath a number of contradictory statements, all apparently in good faith."*

In view of the fact that the mental attitude and concept of the orthodox, medical and psychological scientific world has been revolutionized in regard to the potential power of mind over mind during the past fifty years, and that some very eminent authorities among the representatives of orthodox, medical and scientific thought hold to the possibility of criminal suggestion, clearly we are not warranted in making dogmatic assumptions even when such assumptions are

**Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death*. Vol. I., pp. 513-514.

general in character and have no bearing on the question of the sacred rights of an individual: How much more unwarranted is any attempt to secure legal sanction for the siezing of another's property on the ground that the opinions of that individual run counter to public opinion in a realm of thought where conflicting theories are rife, even among the greatest orthodox scientific minds. The fact is, and every student of psychology and psychic science sufficiently conversant with the discoveries of recent decades to be competent to render an intelligent opinion, knows, that as yet we have only explored the border—the very outer fringe, of the dark continent of psychology. One hundred years ago, the advancing of a claim such as Mr. Chandler urged would not have been surprising, but in the light of the advance of the past century in the realm of psychology, it seems almost incredible, for to-day we find the master minds no longer questioning the fact of suggestion. Many of the world's greatest thinkers unhesitatingly declare that there can be and is thought transference quite apart from the hypnotic trance and accompanied by methods which we know practically nothing about. On this subject, let us quote from Sir Oliver Lodge, F.R.S., LL.D., D.Sc., M.Sc., formerly Professor of Physics in the University College of Liverpool, and at present at the head of the University of Birmingham. This distinguished scientist, author and lecturer justly stands in the very forefront of the tireless scientific investigators of Great Britain, and in his presidential address delivered when President of the Section of Mathematics and Physics of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, he said: "It is possible that an idea can be transferred from one person to another by a process such as we have not yet grown accustomed to, and know practically nothing about. In this case

I have evidence. I assert that I have seen it done, and I am perfectly convinced of the fact. Many others are satisfied of the truth of it, too. Why must we speak of it with bated breath, as of a thing of which we are ashamed? What right have we to be ashamed of the truth?"

Are men like Liebeault, Bernheim, Liegeois, Sir Oliver Lodge, Sir William Crookes, and scores of others who hold to the idea of thought transference, or who have proved the power of mind over mind, and mind over body, by practical experiments in hypnotism, to be adjudged victims of fixed delusions that tend to *Senile Dementia*? Surely, such conclusions would not be unreasonable in view of their declarations and experiences, if the theory advanced by Mr. Chandler in his effort to prevent Mrs. Eddy from directing the disposal of her property should be accepted.

If this case had been merely a contest between an aged woman and her greedy relatives, it would not have called for special notice, but since it has been made an attack on religious convictions, it partakes of the nature of religious persecution, and is also an assault on the fundamental rights of the citizens, that is as subversive of human rights as it is far-reaching and sinister in its implications. For this reason, we have felt that the cause of justice, and the sacred rights of the individual demanded that it be examined at length, for in a period of reaction where class interests and old-time autocratic ideals are everywhere struggling for mastery, against the broad and fundamental principles of genuine democracy, it is supremely important that the basic rights of freedom of opinion be guarded against the numerous subtle influences that are at war against the fundamental principles upon which freedom, progress and civilization wait.

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SOME UNIQUE FEATURES OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

By ELLIS O. JONES.

TO THOSE who are accustomed to the methods of political parties in this and other countries as we have known them in the last few decades, the Socialist party possesses a number of features that are altogether unique.

In the first place, the Socialist party is not so much a party militant as an organization for the study of political economy and the teaching of a true political economy to the masses. It is a party of interpretation. It is first and foremost, expository. The Socialist party is not endeavoring to establish classes but to abolish them. Recognizing that class lines do exist under our present system, it sets about to analyze the conditions that draw these lines and to discover what the ultimate result of such conditions will be. Recognizing that society is constantly undergoing change, it endeavors to trace these changes, according to established natural law. There was a practical as well as a sentimental side to Lincoln's program for the abolishment of chattel slavery. Beside the ethical phase of the slave question, it will be remembered that Lincoln said, "No people can survive half slave and half free." Thus it was also a question of the survival of the nation. The Socialist party perceives most of us are now slaves of economic conditions and, as such, cannot survive.

There was still another side, the purely economic. Chattel slavery had outlived its economic usefulness. In short, it was no longer profitable to own workmen. It was more profitable to pay wages. The Socialist recognizes this fact and claims that just as chattel slavery outlived its economic usefulness the wage system of slavery has now outlived its usefulness and is ready to be

replaced by another system; the coöperative commonwealth, that is, collective ownership of the means of production and distribution.

Accordingly the Socialist party takes an entirely different view of the trust from that of any other party. It claims that in the evolution of industry, the trust is the natural and inevitable thing. It recognizes with the most ardent trust apologist that by great organizations of capital, immense saving is possible, but it differs from them in that it believes these great collective tools of industry should be owned collectively and administered for the benefit of all alike. It sees that these great organizations under private-ownership necessarily benefit only a few. It sees therefore also that, with the rich growing richer and the poor poorer, there soon must come a revolution in the political organization of society, forced by the inexorable law of material things.

The intelligent Socialist does not blame the capitalists for what is going on in the industrial world to-day. It does not take them to task. On the contrary, it believes that they are incapable of doing much differently; that they are largely victims of the system. A short time ago a prominent article in the organ of the Manufacturers' Association, devoted to the destruction of labor unions, pointed to New Zealand's development as an evidence of something worse from his standpoint than labor unions, that would follow the disruption of the present industrial unions; viz., Socialism. He was right in his conclusions, but wrong in thinking that the matter can be controlled by the capitalist class. The Socialists do not believe that they are bringing about the coöperative

state. They believe that the coöperative commonwealth would come without their efforts, just as surely, if perhaps more slowly and with more friction, and the capitalist class is unable to stop it.

Socialism is a faith, a belief, an interpretation. It is the conclusion of intelligent men who have carefully examined history and who have synthesized their conclusions into a scheme of political economy. It is not only practical, but inevitable. They have formed a school of political economy that is just now clamoring for recognition from the academic political economists.

Socialism comes coincident with the breaking down of many of the long established superstitions of the past. Superstition is the absence of knowledge, the lord of stagnation. It has opposed progress from time immemorial. Socialism sees the establishment of a rational basis of politics. Both the church and state as we know it must disappear, not because the Socialist wishes it, but because the natural law demands it.

Socialists have heard many men of many minds and cults preach the doctrine of universal brotherhood as a desirable thing, but they have heard none tell of a way to bring about the universal brotherhood. Men have dreamed of the universal brotherhood, but it remains for the socialist society to make these dreams come true. Socialists have been called dreamers. Rather are they those who are awake, who have their lamps trimmed and filled. If Socialists are dreamers, what shall we say of the numberless people since the advent of the Christian era who have talked of the universal brotherhood, "peace on earth, good will toward men" without telling how it could be brought about? We have been told that the universal brotherhood is possible, but, when the Socialist says it is possible and shows how, he is accused of dreaming.

It would be more correct to say that

Socialism is a church than to say it is against the church. Socialism has a doctrine, a creed, if you like, of its own than which no creed is more moral. It is no more against the church than the denomination of one church is against the denomination of another church. In other words Socialism interferes with no man's belief unless, of course, that belief disagrees with the theory of economic determinism. Holding to the theory of economic determinism, of course, one could not believe that a hierarchy was the source of power. It could not believe in the divine right of kings. It opposes not the church but is prepared to defend its faith against any man, whether of the clergy or the laity.

The Socialist has long heard others speak of "government of the people, by the people and for the people," and thought them in earnest. It too believes in government of, by and for the people, and stands ready to demonstrate that it has the enabling act of this democratic dream. It offers to every one who believes in this Jeffersonian epigram the proof that it will be realized and in what way.

The Socialist has long heard orators speak time and again of "measures, not men," and believing, concerned himself thenceforth exclusively with measures. The Socialist is intensely optimistic but is in no sense Utopian. Utopia is artificial. Socialism is involuntary evolution. He believes that the forces of nature are evolving society along the right lines for the good of mankind. He is pulling with the current rather than against it. He is perfectly complacent. He is not worried about the advent of Socialism. He is only worried whether the people will be ready for it when the time comes.

While the capitalists and the politicians are worried about the growth of Socialism, the Socialist is almost compelled to laugh in his sleeve at the futility of any proposed effort to forestall it. The Socialist is not in a hurry. He considers

the results of occasional elections of but little importance. On the contrary, he does not want the arbitrary establishment of Socialism. He does not want Socialists elected to office on a sentimental vote. He avers that Socialism should only come when a majority of people see and understand the laws that make Socialism inevitable. He knows also that, with the difficulty of getting men to think, whether because of ignorance or lack of time, the people will not see and understand these laws until the class lines have been drawn so sharply and the reserve industrial army has become so large that no other interpretation can be possible, without possible disastrous results. The Socialist is seeking to avoid social disaster.

The silver question will never be demonstrated because it does not stand alone, and because it is not comprehensive. Free silver may, as a temporary expedient, be better for the whole class of people than the single gold standard. But as a popular issue it was entirely sentimental. It was not even understood by most of its advocates in its true relation to the whole scheme of economics and consequently it would be absurd to think that it was understood by the masses. Accordingly, the vote it received was purely sentimental. Socialism is rational, comprehensive. It proposes to injure no man for the benefit of another. It does not propose to consider particular men or particular classes of men at all. It proposes to assist in the establishment of the only rational organization of society that our present development will permit.

It is not working so much to get men into Congress or the Senate or other official place. It is working primarily to get men to understand that the collective ownership of the social tools of industry is the only practicable plan upon which society can be organized. Knowledge is power. Other political parties offer platforms which are but confused jumbles of catch-phrases and

glittering generalities. "Four more years of the full dinner-pail" sounds good for people who always expect to carry dinner-pails. But even then, how was it proposed to accomplish this highly laudable aim? Simply by leaving it to the judgment of the Republican politicians. Right or wrong, it cannot be denied that the offering of the Socialists is concrete and unequivocal.

The Socialist believes in and advocates the initiative and referendum and as a proof of its sincerity organized his party on that basis. As a result, the party belongs to its membership and not to bosses and office-holders. A Socialist elected to office agrees to resign at the wish of the party, such wish being expressed through a referendum vote. If you are opposed to bosses join the Socialists.

Any man can belong to the party who severs his connection with other parties and pays his dues regularly, twenty-five cents per month. This is a unique feature, the result of which is that the party is supported from within rather than from without. Large subscriptions from corporations and others desiring special government privileges are unknown to the Socialist party. Thus it is kept pure and sweet. Never was a party of importance in this country organized on that basis.

The Socialist party does not discriminate between the sexes. It believes that woman is as much entitled as man to have a voice in the affairs of state. In this again, it is unique. In local matters the other parties have occasionally advocated woman's suffrage, but the Socialist party is the only one in which this principle is ever-present.

The Socialist party is unique in that one can tell the substance of its political platforms as well before as after they are adopted. This is not true of any other party. In other parties, it depends upon which particular faction or group of politicians secures control of the conventions.

There are thus different kinds of Dem-

ocrats and different kinds of Republicans. There is only one kind of Socialism. Many candidates of the other parties have two sets of principles, one for before election and the other for after election. The only way to find out what a Democrat or Republican really thinks is to elect him to office. If a man is a Socialist, you know that he believes in the collective ownership of the social tools of production, no ifs or ands or buts or howevers about it.

The Socialist party is the only international party that either now exists or ever has existed. Its representatives are found in every civilized country of the globe. It respects mankind above ar-

bitrary political boundaries. This is necessarily so because the natural law of economic evolution is entirely independent of arbitrary political divisions.

In conclusion, the Socialist party may be said to be unique in that no other party can compare with it in rate of increase. The other parties have remained nearly stationary for years, while the Socialist party in this country has increased on the average at the rate of about fifty per cent. per annum. If this continues and there is no reason why it should not, the merest child can make a close guess as to the date of its triumph.

ELLIS O. JONES.

Columbus, O.

THE EDITOR'S QUIET HOUR.

SAINT GAUDENS' "LINCOLN" AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE POWER OF GENIUS OVER THE HUMAN IMAGINATION.

GENIUS is the capacity for getting at the soul of things; the power, insight and imagination that enable one to enter the holiest of holies and to see, feel and know what others have seen, felt and known,—to penetrate the mystery of nature and to so feel her witchery as to translate her message to the soul of man; the power to touch the closed door, and lo! it flies open and the guarded and age-long secret stands revealed; the power to feel the hopes and aspirations of humanity as it gropes after the light.

The geniuses have been and must ever be the master teachers of the ages. It matters not whether it be the poet, the great composer, the artist, the sculptor, or the prophet; wherever genius is found, there also is a message for the awakened soul—a lesson for those who have eyes to see and ears to hear.

How great is the chasm between the copyist or imitator and the genius and interpreter of hidden things is apparent to the thoughtful person whose soul is in any degree awakened to the deeper meaning of things. Take, for example, the painter. Here is an artist who has given great attention to technique,

color, form,—the grammar of art. Very important and necessary things, but by no means the all. He revels in gorgeous effects and goes forth to the mountains in the autumn, when the frost has whispered to the leaves and the wandering breeze that seemed to vibrate with joy and prophecy in the springtime, and which later became the regal anthem of summer—the song of nature crowned and glorified—is now changed to a requiem pitched in a minor key; or shall we rather say, now become a crooning lullaby by which the Great Mother rocks her children asleep? Our artist is dazzled with the outward splendor of the scene. His imagination is dominated by the gorgeous coloring that defies imitation at the hand of man; and forthwith he paints a picture which, like the scene, is rich in color and in which the surface aspects are faithfully reproduced. This picture is a marvel in rich effects and is very true to the rules and precepts of art. To the superficial observer—he who sees only the shell of things—it is a masterpiece, and he will confidently declare it to be distinctly a great painting. And yet to the seeing eye

the canvas bears the same relation to a really great painting that interprets nature in this glorious mood, that the beautiful corpse bears to the living ere the soul has fled. It lacks the soul.

Now, coming to the same spot we find the painter who is also a man of genius. Long he broods over the wonder and the witchery of the scene, beholding nature in one of her captivating moods. Night is approaching; the curfew is sounding for forest and mead; the trees and the fields must for a time bid farewell to their children who have decked them with jewels and mantled them with royal garments, while yielding matchless incense and dowering them with wealth of fruit and seed for the coming year. It is a solemn hour, true; but nature, the artist observes, robes and mantles herself with splendor as she takes her exit. At his feet the grass is withering and the hand of death is on the meadow-land; but these little children of the earth that so lately clothed the sod with a velvet-like garment of emerald are now regally attended by the goldenrod, the purple aster and numerous other autumn flowers, while the forests flame into a splendor that beggars all description. The master artist comes under the thrall of nature, or rather, before him the Great Mother lifts her veil and he feels her magic and sees far more than the eye of sense takes cognizance of. He hears far more than the whisper of the breeze and the strident notes of certain loud-voiced birds. To him a symphony of melody, of color and of form attends nature in this hour of transformation. He sees and knows the mystery of life in an august mood, and he paints a picture into which is woven the spirit that is brooding over forest, field and mountain-side.

What is true of the painter and the poet is equally true of the sculptor or the artist who paints a noble portrait. The sculptor for instance, if he be a man of genius, has the penetration, the imagination, which enables him to enter the holiest of holies of his subject. For the time being he is the man he would portray. He is dominated by his ideals, ambitions, desires. He feels his thrill of joy, his ecstasy and hope, his fears, and the yearnings of his heart. He stands before the formless clay, lost in contemplation. He feels, he thinks, he lives, as does or did the man whose image will soon emerge from the

clay. Sometimes, where the subject has aspired to great things, the sculptor, like the master poet, catches the genius whom he seeks to embody, when he is upon the very spiritual Alps of his being. Then he makes him a fitting embodiment of some great ideal that has dominated his life. In such cases, where genius meets genius, the world receives a masterpiece in which the soul looks forth from the clay, and later from the bronze.

The little man, the imitator, may essay the same task, but he represents only the outward features, the form, and the clothing; the soul of the subject escapes him. He fails to feel; he lacks the spiritual perception that constitutes the seeing eye. The work of the imitator or of the man devoid of imagination has no vital message. Not so with the creations of a real master—the man of genius. The statue speaks to all whose interior perceptions have been quickened in a compelling way. They feel the lesson that it impresses and are subtly but strongly influenced. Something of the exaltation of the master enters their soul. Take, for example, that splendid work—Saint Gaudens' "Lincoln," which adorns Lincoln Park, Chicago. How many thousands of people have felt the power and witchery of this masterpiece; how many young men while contemplating it have been thrilled with high and noble resolves that will ever after influence their lives; while to the poet and the man of acute imagination its influence is so overmastering that henceforth he is urged to speak the noble or true word, that it in turn may reach others and helpfully influence them.

Thus, for example, David Graham Phillips, standing before this monument, comes so under its spell that it becomes the text for a strong and purposeful message. So fine, indeed, is Mr. Phillips' characterization of this work, and so true his interpretation of the master ideal of the sculptor and his original, that we reproduce his words as being a worthy tribute to our greatest sculptor who has so recently left us, and also because they carry with them inspiring thoughts that should be graven on the heart of every young man and woman in America to-day.

"In Chicago, in Lincoln Park, there is a wonderful statue. A big, slouching form, loose yet powerful; ungraceful, yet splendid because it seems to be able to bear upon its Atlantean shoulders the burdens of a mighty

people. The big hands, the big feet, the great, stooped shoulders tell the same story of commonness and strength.

"Then you look at the face. You find it difficult to keep your hat upon your head.

"What a countenance! How homely, yet how beautiful; how stern, yet how gentle; how inflexible, yet how infinitely merciful; how powerful, yet how tender; how common, yet how sublime!

"Search the world through and you will find no greater statue than this—the statue of Abraham Lincoln, by St. Gaudens. It is Lincoln; but it is also a great deal more. It is the glorification of the Common Man—the apotheosis of Democracy.

"As you look at that face and that figure you feel the history of the human race, the long, bloody, the agonized struggle of the masses of mankind for freedom and light. You see the whole history of your own country, founded by common men for the common people, founded upon freedom and equality and justice.

"Here is no vain haughtiness, no arrogance, no supercilious looking down, no cringing looking upward, nothing that suggests class or rank or aristocracy. Here is Democracy, the Common Man exalted in the dignity of his own rights, in the splendor of the recognition of the equal rights of all others; the Common Man, free and enlightened, strong and just.

"The statue is in the attitude of preparation to speak. What is that brain formulating for those lips to utter?

"The expression of brow and eyes and lips leaves no doubt. It is some thought of freedom and justice, some one of those many mighty democratic thoughts which will echo forever in the minds and hearts of men.

"Let us recall three of those thoughts:

"The authors of the Declaration of Independence meant it to be a stumbling block to those who in after times might seek to turn a free people back into the hateful paths of despotism."

"That this nation under God shall have a new birth in freedom and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

"I say that no man is good enough to govern another man without that other man's consent. I say that this is the leading principle, the sheet-anchor."

"These were the ideas that found this country a few ragged settlements trembling between a hostile sea and a hostile wilderness and built it up to its present estate of democratic grandeur. Not tyranny, not murder disguised as war, not robbery disguised as 'benevolent guidance,' not any of the false and foolish ideas of imperialism and aristocracy. But ideas of peace, of equal rights for all, of self-government."

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

THE AMERICAN CITY THE STORM CENTER IN THE BATTLE FOR GOOD GOVERNMENT.

The Titanic Struggle and What it Involves.

THE AMERICAN people are awakening to the immense significance of certain grave facts that are pressing for consideration and which vitally affect free government. They are at last coming to see that government may conform to the democratic theory, being in form a government "of the people, by the people and for the people," and yet be in practice a corrupt despotism, as unresponsive to the known wishes and needs of the community as a bureaucracy or a monarchal despotism. They are coming to understand that the official world or the government will sooner or later always become responsive and obedient to its real creators or masters; that officials may in theory represent the people, and yet be the actual representatives of the enemies of the people.

The founders of our government realized not only the danger of a foreign foe, but also the danger of a despotism through a permanent governing class,—a class enthroned in office and using its position to oppress the people, but they failed to conceive of a class arising outside of political officialdom which should become a dominant power in controlling government from without,—an irresponsible yet all-powerful influence exercising a sway destructive to civic morality and the rights and interests of the people; a power like that which the di Medici family of ancient Florence wielded, though holding no office and outwardly sustaining no relation to the State more intimate than that of the humblest voting citizen. Not dreaming of the rise of the industrial autocracy or the feudalism of privileged interests, the fathers failed properly to safeguard democracy—to safeguard it so as to make it always and under all conditions responsive to the popular will, that is, to the sovereign power in a democratic government. For the fact cannot be too often stated that one of the chief points that differentiates a democratic republic or a popular government from any form of class-

rule, is found in the relation of the people to the law-making, executive and judicial classes. The officials in a democratic republic are merely the servants of the people, their representatives, while in a monarchy, an aristocracy or a despotic bureaucratic government, the governing classes are the masters and not the servants.

In theory our officials are merely the popular representatives, supposed at all times to be ready to reflect the known wishes of their masters or those who have sent them as their representatives in the halls of legislation; but since the rise of the corrupt political boss and the money-controlled machine acting in the interests of predatory wealth, whose selfish desires and greed are inimical and antagonistic to the popular interests, the so-called servants of the people have become either the servants of the boss and the machine, or of privileged interests whose money makes the machine effective for the advancement of politicians who betray the people in the interests of the real ruling power,—the industrial autocracy acting through the money-controlled machine and under the direction of the political boss.

This, then, is the supreme conflict that is being waged, a battle that involves the life of democratic government.

How The City From an Outpost of Democracy Became the Stronghold of Corrupt, Irresponsible and Despotic Rule.

It was in the city that the feudalism of privilege, and especially the criminal classes at the zenith and the nadir of society, through combining, overthrew democratic or truly representative government, making the great centers of population veritable political plague-spots, generating moral contagion that rapidly spread through state and nation.

Boss Tweed perfected a machine for plunder that was as responsive to the wishes of the criminal rich as it was deaf to the demands of civic morality or the interests of

the people. The great exposures that led to the undoing of Tweed and the overthrow of the ring furnished one of the earliest if not indeed the first illustration of the union of the pillars of society,—the safe and sane, highly respectable, powerful and rich members of society,—with the criminal politicians, for mutual enrichment at the expense of the city or its inhabitants. For it must be remembered that not only did the master spirits in the high finance circle of Wall street, like Jay Gould, and Jim Fisk, work hand in hand with Tweed for the exploitation of the people and their own enrichment, but men like John Jacob Astor, Moses Taylor, Marshall O. Roberts, and other veritable pillars in the commercial structure of New York society, consented to act as a committee to bring confusion on the muck-rakers or those undesirable citizens like Thomas Nast, the Harpers, George Jones and Louis J. Jennings of the *Times*; and these men, a committee composed to New York's wealthiest, most influential and respected citizens, actually gave Tweed and his fellow thieves a certificate of good conduct, declaring in so many words that:

"We have come to the conclusion, and certify, that the financial affairs of the city, under the charge of the controller, are administered in a correct and faithful manner."

The secret of this whitewashing report was found to be, as indicated by Mr. Albert Bigelow Paine in his admirable *Life of Nast*, in the remission of taxes for the millionaires.

What was thus in evidence at this early day,—the union of the men who in society, in education, in the church and in the business world took a prominent and influential part, with the corrupt element, for personal gain,—has been invariably a distinguishing characteristic of the riot of corruption in the American cities of our time. Indeed, it is the master reason why corruption has prevailed and spread, why the efforts of sincere reformers, of the really moral element of society, and of the great mass of exploited people, have been futile to permanently overthrow the boss and the money-controlled machine. The business interests that pose as the ultra-respectable and conservative element of society, with their tremendous influence in press and church as well as in the commercial affairs of life, have rendered possible the continuance of political corruption in American cities.

The Spread of Municipal Corruption Under The Dual Alliance of Politicians and Privileged Interests.

The success of the Tweed ring and the fact that its complete undoing was so largely accidental or due to carelessness on the part of the thieves, led other daring and morally depraved individuals to enter politics in the great cities for personal revenue. They saw a field of almost limitless possibilities for wealth, if they could organize a powerful political machine and then place it at the service of great privilege-seeking corporations that wished to plunder the people and deprive the city's treasury of ever-increasing streams of wealth which would flow into it from the operation of the public utilities or natural monopolies of the community. The criminal rich who pose as the high priests of respectability were eager to enter this alliance offered by the corrupt boss and his conscienceless aids. They were glad to furnish liberal contributions to meet all expenses of the campaign and richly reimburse the politicians, if they were to be allowed to place on the ticket men whom they would name, or if assurances could be given them that the people's property,—the fabulously rich franchises for public utilities, would be handed over to them.

Success in one city was followed by similar alliances and success in other cities. Sometimes it was the representative of the feudalism of privileged wealth seeking enormously valuable franchises, who took initial steps; sometimes it was the political boss, with his trusted lieutenants; but in every instance this unholy alliance was to be found, and naturally enough, whenever formed the city became the breeding place of political corruption, civic debauchery, bad government, and exploitation of the people. And what was equally tragic, moral idealism in the individual naturally became infected by the absence of high ideals in government and the great quasi-public business enterprises that furnished the sinews of war to the politicians and which controlled the dominant political machine.

Furthermore, from the city the poison of corruption, of reaction and of class-rule spread to state and national government. The revelations of recent years made by many of the best thinkers and workers in the field of social, economic and political life, and especially the inestimably valuable work of Mr. Lincoln Steffens, have served to

awaken our people from their profound moral apathy; while official exposures of the unholy and corrupt alliance, brought to light by fearless officials—men like Joseph W. Folk, who broke up the corrupt reign of the public-service companies and the Butler Democratic ring in St. Louis, and F. J. Heney, who so effectively ran down Mayor Schmitz and the Ruef Republican ring in San Francisco,—further aroused our people, and a nation-wide agitation began looking toward emancipating the cities from the grafters, great and small, from the oppression of the criminal rich and the corruption of the political machine.

Several plans were proposed, but in many instances well-meaning patriots displayed a striking lack of knowledge of the fundamental weakness that led to the destruction alike of a truly democratic government and clean and efficient rule in our cities. In many places high-minded and earnest people wandered in the dark seeking the light, but apparently without any path to guide their steps. They did not think deeply; they did not look at the problem in a fundamental way; they had allowed the vicious corporation-owned press to create in their minds distrust of popular rule which blinded them to the one supreme and vital fact that every instance of failure of democracy in American cities was due to the fact that really democratic government had been overthrown by the privilege-seeking classes ruling the city through the boss and the money-controlled machine and with the help of a large part of the daily press. Not till the government ceased to be truly representative or democratic did it become corrupt, venal, inefficient and false to the people's interests. Here was another illustration of De Tocqueville's famous and absolutely true observation, that "the cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy."

The officials will always sooner or later respond to their masters and do their bidding or work for the advantage and advancement of those they recognize as their principals. If their principals are the people in fact, and not merely in theory, the interests and welfare of the people will be their first concern. If their principals are the machine politicians or the powerful privilege-seeking corporations, or both of these, the people will always sooner or later be betrayed and their interests sacrificed to the real masters. This is the

supreme lesson of the failure of democratic government wherever the political machine and corporations have dominated our cities.

Unguarded Commission Government.

Galveston, Texas, was one of the first cities to break away from the corrupt and inefficient rule of professional politicians. Her commission government has been fully and sympathetically described in a recent issue of *THE ARENA* by Mr. George Wharton James, so it is only necessary for us to point out its serious weakness. So long as Galveston possesses a commission composed only of honorable, upright, competent and conscientious officials, the city will have good government; but the same may be said of the autocratic government of various rulers of the past—men like Marcus Aurelius and King Alfred, for example. But all history shows conclusively that in proportion as officials feel themselves under the immediate control of a certain class, whether an autocracy, an hereditary aristocracy or the people, they will become responsive to those who are able to make or unmake them. And furthermore, the only way for the interests of all the people to be conserved is for the people at all times to have the power of sanctioning or rejecting the action of their representatives. When there are practical provisions for this, a government or the representatives will always be truly representative of the people. Without this, as we have learned to our bitter cost, nothing is easier than the interposition of other interests between the people and their so-called representatives. And what has been true owing to the failure to safeguard representative government in the past, will be true in the future, unless this flaw is wisely remedied.

Now this is the fact which unfortunately the citizens of Galveston have overlooked. The city is splendidly ruled to-day, just as Glasgow is splendidly ruled under the old English representative system, and just as American cities were as a rule well governed before the rise of the privilege-seeking corporations and the money-controlled machine. But there is no reason to believe that the city of Galveston, Houston, or any other cities which have adopted the Galveston plan, will not in the course of a few years have autocratic commissions which will respond not to the people's will, but to the privilege seeking bodies in quest of monopoly rights.

In a word, the old order of corruption and graft, of betrayal of the rights and interests of the people, may easily appear just as it has appeared in New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, San Francisco and other cities where representative government was not so safeguarded as to make it truly representative in character,—that is, where the vital principle of democracy was not wisely bulwarked. In other words, the unguarded commission government is an honest attempt to secure better rule which unhappily ignores the fundamental demand of democratic government—an attempt more reactionary and autocratic in character than democratic in spirit. It has many excellent features and is an honest attempt to better conditions, and it will in most instances work well at first, but it is fatally weak where it should be doubly strong.

Provisions For Making City Government Truly Representative.

The city of Los Angeles, California, was the pioneer municipality of considerable population to apply fundamental and practical democratic measures to destroy the corrupt and despotic rule of the dual grafters,—the machine politicians and the privilege-seeking interests. It provides for the initiative, referendum and right of recall, and has thus given to her citizens the power to secure just what they want and to compel public servants to represent their constituency by carrying out the wishes of the citizens. Otherwise they can be compelled to retire from office. As the democratic provisions of this city's government will be described at length by one of our contributors in an early issue of *THE ARENA*, we shall not dwell longer on Los Angeles and her ideal of democratic government at the present time.

The Des Moines Plan: A Model of Guarded Commission Municipal Government.

There are many features of commission government that are highly desirable. In fact, with proper democratic safeguards, it promises, we think, the best possible results.

The State of Iowa, primarily through the energetic efforts of public-spirited citizens of Des Moines, is the first commonwealth to embody in statutory form a definite plan of city government by commission which at all times shall be responsive to the people through democratic checks and popular protective

measures. So vitally important to the cause of civic purity and free government is the comprehensive statute passed by the Iowa legislature last January, that it calls for special notice. This law, known as the Des Moines plan, provides for the establishment of guarded commission government in cities of 25,000 or more inhabitants, when the citizens desire such government. According to the enabling act, when 25 per cent. of the voters of the city in question petition for the adoption of the new form of government, the question shall be submitted to the electorate.

The law contains twenty-three sections, of which the following are of special interest to persons concerned in a model democratic commission government:

(1) Under its provisions a mayor and four aldermen or councillors shall be elected and shall constitute the commission for the government of the city.

(2) The candidates must be nominated at a non-partisan primary election.

(3) The commission elected shall administer the affairs of the city under five departments, as follows, each commissioner being at the head of one department:

(a)—Department of Public Affairs.

(b)—Department of Accounts and Finances

(c)—Department of Public Safety.

(d)—Department of Streets and Public Improvements.

(e)—Department of Parks and Public Property.

(4) All franchises to public-service corporations must be submitted to a vote of the people for approval.

(5) Provision is made for the initiative if the commission refuses to pass an ordinance desired by the people. On the petition of 25 per cent. of the voters, the electorate can compel a popular vote on the ordinance.

(6) The protective referendum is also provided for. If an order is passed that is not satisfactory to the people, they can compel a referendum and veto it.

At the close of a valuable little pamphlet issued by the city of Des Moines for the instruction of her voters and containing the law in full, we find the following summary of the provisions of the Des Moines plan of city government:

"The Des Moines plan of city government is the best and most advanced system yet

devised. It is the most representative, since it places the entire power of government in the hands of the people. Lincoln said, 'Ours is a government of the people,' and in the Des Moines plan that idea is carried out to its fullest extent as is illustrated by the referendum, the initiative and the power of recall. In the past the politician ruled, under the new plan the people retain the balance of power.

"No franchise or other valuable right can be given away by the city council until the people vote in favor of it. The people can compel or prevent the passage of any law or ordinance. Under the Des Moines plan the city official is under the control of the people.

"Under this new plan all aldermen are elected from at large. Each citizen votes for all candidates, instead of voting for only two out of the nine aldermen as under the present system. These councilmen having to depend upon votes from all portions of the city, will consider the needs of the whole city, rather than the needs of a particular section which they desire to benefit for the purpose of securing political support as a means of keeping themselves in office.

"The Des Moines plan fixes responsibility by placing one member of the city council at the head of each of the five departments, thereby doing away with the confusion and irresponsibility which exists under the present system.

"The aldermen receive such a salary that men of ability and honesty will devote their whole time to the affairs of the city. They can not while serving be interested directly or indirectly, in any contract with the city or with any public-service corporation, such as water, telephone or street-car companies. This last provision insures due consideration for the rights of the people and prevents corporations from obtaining by any indirect method an influence over the action of the city council.

"Civil service is made a prominent feature of this law, honesty and ability will be the qualifications demanded of employes. The question of their political strength will not be considered.

"This new plan provides that all candidates for office shall be selected at a non-partisan primary, and also a simple method by which a citizen may become a candidate.

"The Des Moines plan prescribes a severe punishment for attempting to form a political

combination, or for using, directly or indirectly, political influence in the interest of any person or measure. This makes machine politics impossible.

"All officials must, after election, publish a sworn itemized statement of their campaign expenses.

"All persons are prohibited from accepting any money or other compensations for services rendered the candidate.

"This is a very brief statement of a number of the important features of this law and the reader for a more thorough understanding of the advantages of this system of government should carefully read the law itself."

The Story of Des Moines' Battle With The Dual Alliance, and Her Victory.

No more inspiring chapter in the history of American municipalities can be found than that presented by Des Moines, Iowa. The outlook until recently seemed so utterly hopeless and the circumstances that obtained were so favorable to the indefinite reign of corruption and the perpetual enslavement of the people to the seemingly all-powerful public-service corporations, that he was indeed a man of faith who could maintain a stout heart in the battle led by James G. Berryhill, H. Ingham and a few other chosen spirits who were animated by the old-time civic ideals and exalted patriotism.

The history of Des Moines' municipal government during the past ten or twenty years has been the story of shame, a record of corruption and civic inefficiency marked by continual scandals of the most humiliating character to all self-respecting citizens. In vain did reformers seek to purify the Augean stable. Here as in Philadelphia, St. Louis, San Francisco and all cities where democratic government had broken down before the all-powerful combination in which the corrupt politicians operated the money-controlled machine in the interests of corporate wealth and grafting office-holders, the alliance between the politicians and the privilege-seeking public-service companies was perfect. Together they stood, together they worked for mutual enrichment and advancement at the expense of the people's pockets, the city's treasury, and civic integrity and efficiency. Here, precisely as elsewhere, behind the corrupt political ring, the dominant party and its perfectly-organized machine, stood the immensely rich public-service companies,

the powerful and seemingly invincible bulwark of the corrupt and inefficient officials.

But while the story of Des Moines is not materially different from that of other cities where exposures have been made, the situation was rendered more difficult to reformers and decent citizens here than in most municipalities, by reason of the fact that home capital controlled most of the great grasping public-service corporations. In a large proportion of the cities, especially in the Middle West and West, Eastern capital, usually Wall street high finance, representing the wealth of either the Standard Oil group or J. P. Morgan's interests, controls the exhaustless mines of ever-increasing riches that we call the natural monopolies or public utilities. Not so with Des Moines. Here the greatest fortunes of the city were amassed by the shrewd, masterful and practical citizens who understood the di Medicean art of making a supposedly popular government primarily responsive to the interests of the privilege-seeking ones. True, there was an exception in the Capital City Gas Company, it being controlled by the notorious and malodorous Gas Improvement Company of Philadelphia; but for the most part the public utilities were controlled by home capital. The master spirits in the companies were the master financial powers in the cities as well as the bulwark of protection and the magazine of defense for the political machine. Their families were social leaders. Their influence in business, society, church, educational and political circles was inestimably great.

Every attack on the corrupt and inefficient political ring that operated the city government came to nothing, for multitudinous subtle influences were at once set to work on the side of the corruptionists. But for the union of "phariseism and privilege" with the vicious politicians, the corrupt and inefficient government would quickly have given place to efficient and upright rule. The gloved hand of the ultra-respectable pillars of society and business who were growing fabulously rich through the privileges which they were receiving from the political ring, was sufficiently strong to throttle all opposition. Then, too, the dominant party in the legislature was almost as solicitous for the interests of the dual alliance as is Senator Lodge for the machine and its powerful friends in Massachusetts. Corruption under such conditions will be necessarily progressive.

A Typical Scandal That Helped to Awaken The People to The Peril of This Dual Alliance.

Scandal after scandal came to the surface in the enslaved city. Here is a typical example and one that also illustrates the far-reaching influence of the unholy alliance.

In June, 1906, an alderman, J. A. Hamey by name, who had been elected as an independent, exposed the methods of the Des Moines street railway. On two occasions he allowed himself to accept money from a representative of the company for "being fair," to use the euphonious phrase of the corporation corruptionists and grafters. But Alderman Hamey had taken the precaution to have witnesses present,—men of the highest character, who saw the transaction. These facts were laid before the grand and petit juries, but such was the constitution of the juries that no indictments were made. The moral effect of the circumstantial exposure however, was tremendous, and the significant lack of action on the part of the juries probably helped to fan the fire of public wrath more than would have been the case if they had acted.

This incident was one of several which gave great moral impulse to a movement that had previously been inaugurated by certain public-spirited and high-minded citizens, most prominent of whom were J. H. Berryhill, a millionaire, and Mr. H. Ingham, the intrepid editor of the *Register and Leader*.

A Battle of Giants.

Through the splendid fight by former Mayor John MacVicar for public-ownership of public utilities, the civic conscience had been greatly aroused and the people educated. A fierce and oftentimes apparently hopeless battle was inaugurated on the heels of Mr. MacVicar's work, by Messrs. Berryhill, Ingham and their co-workers, to rescue Des Moines from the spoilers. At every turn the apostles of civic honor, efficiency and democratic government, however, met the most formidable opposition. In the legislature as in the city, the interests were strongly entrenched. Governor Cummins was for clean government, it is true, but the Governor's disposition to acquiesce with the machine rather than jeopardize his political future sharply contrasts with the course of Senator LaFollette under similar circumstances and marks him as an opportunist rather than as an uncompromising champion of the people's

interests; and such a champion was sorely needed at that time to battle for an efficient yet democratic plan of city government in Iowa. Governor Cummins characteristically straddled at the crisis by favoring a plan of government similar to what is known as the Indianapolis plan and which greatly augmented the power of the mayor while providing for the election of aldermen at large. It lacked the vital safeguards that would make the people's representatives the servants instead of the masters and so was fatally defective.

Happily the men who were fighting for civic progress along practical and democratic lines were genuine leaders and men of courage and determination. A committee composed of J. H. Berryhill, I. M. Earle, John M. Read, S. B. Allen and W. H. Bailey, was chosen to draw up a model plan. They went into the work with single-hearted determination to conserve the wishes and interests of the people and to draw a plan of government that should be at once practical and efficient, and yet which should guard every door that might be assailed by the privilege-seeking enemies of the people in an effort to destroy popular rule for the interests of the few. Consequently they drew up a proposed bill for city charters, providing for non-partisan primaries and elections; rigid civil service; the initiative, referendum and recall; publicity of campaign expenditures; the abolition of the ward system; and compulsory submission to the voters of all proposals for franchises to public-service companies. The enabling act for the bill proposed only passed the legislature after a fierce battle, but when it once became a law the reformers of Des Moines set to work to redeem their city from bondage, corruption and shame; to make her the pride of the state and an example for the cities of the nation instead of a by-word in the mouths of honor-loving and upright citizens throughout the land.

Happily for the cause of good government, public sentiment was so aroused at this time that Mr. Ingham's daily, that had been a powerful pioneer in the work, was reinforced by the *Daily Capital* and the *News*.

The Tactics of The Enemy and The Victory of The People.

But the alliance of darkness was not to be unrepresented. A new paper, the *Tribune*, began a savage fight against the reformers.

The interests rallied to its support; its columns were filled with the specious advertisements in the interests of the monopolistic exploiters and political grafters such as we in Massachusetts are so familiar with. The *Tribune*, it is stated, was distributed in every home in the city during the fight. The saloon interests, fearing the referendum at the hands of the temperance people, united against the new charter. The gamblers and the politicians were also practically a unit in urging the electorate to vote No. The most absurd and mendacious alarm appeals were made to the Russian Jews and the Italian voters, who are numerous in the city. The children of the Old World, however, declined to be frightened by the proposition to place all power in the hands of the voters. They failed to see in that proposition anything like the hated monarchy or bureaucracy which the opposition assured them the new charter resembled.

The dual alliance was as desperate as it was unscrupulous. It was determined that the real government of the city should not pass into the hands of the people, and just before the election a startling discovery was made. It was found that the Philadelphia tactics had been resorted to. The registration lists had been padded with thousands of names that had no right on them. *The graveyards had been searched for names which repeaters could give in precincts where the ring was all-powerful.* The discovery was promptly followed by an appeal to the courts, and the latter ordered the bogus names stricken from the lists. This was the fatal blow to the allied forces of corruption, reaction and irresponsible rule, and at the election the aroused conscience and patriotism of the people proved irresistible. The new charter was adopted by a sweeping majority, and January 1st of next year will witness the inauguration of the new régime, with the official board that the people are to choose.

The Last Stand of The Reactionaries.

Having failed in corrupting and deceiving the electorate and having been foiled in their attempt to carry the election by having recourse to the grave-yards the reactionaries have attempted to defy the will of the people of the state and the city by recourse to the courts, in the hope that the latter may nullify the law passed by the people's representatives and ratified by the city of Des Moines. This

is precisely what the grafters, the would-be grafters and the privilege-seeking corporations tried to do in Oregon, after the people embedded Direct Legislation in their state constitution. But the Supreme Court unanimously upheld the constitutionality of the law.

In California, when the cities sought to enjoy the right similar to that granted to the cities by the Iowa legislature, the reactionaries again had recourse to the courts, but the Supreme Court of California upheld the statute providing for popular government in the cities; and there seems little doubt but what the Iowa court will do as have the other courts when any such question has come up before them.

In editorially commenting on the attempt of the reactionaries, the *Chicago Record-Herald* holds that there is little danger that the enemies of the Des Moines plan will succeed in this last desperate attempt. "A local referendum," it observes, "in which a city merely votes whether or not to place itself under an existing general law, is almost sure to be sustained by the courts, so there is little reason for fearing that the new experiment will not be made."

No event of the present year is more pregnant with promise or more inspiring to genuine reformers who believe in democratic republican government than the victory won by the citizens for the model Des Moines charter.

A MODERN TALE OF TWO CITIES; OR, THE OBJECT-LESSON FURNISHED BY THE STORY OF THE WATER SUPPLY OF LOS ANGELES AND DENVER.

THE SPECIAL-PLEADERS employed by the public-service companies to oppose public-ownership of public utilities long declared that public-ownership in Great Britain and elsewhere was a failure, but since the falsity of this claim has been so completely established, only the most reckless and mendacious of their number longer advance it. Now a new plea is offered. We are told that while public-ownership has proved successful in Great Britain, conditions with us are such that here it would prove a dire failure. The difference, we presume, is the obvious one that since private corporations have been seeking public utilities, they have debauched our municipal politics and made it possible for the most corrupt politicians to hold sway, despite the efforts of decent citizens,

But here again the claim of the agents for the corporations is fatally weak, for the reason that just as soon as the power of the corrupt public-service corporations which are the rock of protection—the bulwark and magazine of defense—for the corrupt boss and the money-controlled machine, is eliminated from municipal politics, the friends of pure government are able to quickly rescue the government from the spoilers and inaugurate conditions as favorable to honest and efficient rule and pure politics as those

present in Glasgow and other cities of the Old World.

The threadbare cry that the cost under public-ownership would not be substantially reduced, is not borne out by the facts wherever municipalities have sufficiently destroyed the corrupt influence of the public-service corporations to take away this all-powerful bulwark of the boss and the money-controlled machine.

A short time ago we published the object-lesson that Duluth, Minnesota, offered in showing the enormous saving to the public in the light and water systems that has resulted from public-ownership. Now we desire to call the attention of thinking men and women to one of the most striking comparisons offered by two cities under very similar conditions, with these exceptions: one is a city where the civic conscience has been awakened and where the people enjoy a truly democratic republican form of government through the operation of the initiative, referendum and right of recall. The other is a machine-ridden city, absolutely under the domination of the public utility trust and other associated villainies that have debauched and are debauching the government of one of the fairest and richest commonwealths of the nation.

In Los Angeles, where the people enjoy the initiative and referendum, the water supply is under public-ownership. In Denver, the capital city of Colorado, the water supply is in the hands of one of the great predatory bands that are preying on the state.

Recently the *Rocky Mountain Daily News* secured the services of the well-known Republican Senator, John A. Rush, of Denver, to make a careful comparative study of the water situation in the two cities. His report is so clear, complete and illuminating in character that we reproduce it, because, coming from a well-known Republican legislator, it is of special value to friends of public-ownership and, also, being so detailed in its character it furnishes an admirable typical illustration that cannot fail to appeal to all persons who place the public weal above considerations of private wealth.

"In fixing water rates for Denver the experience of a city of like size in an equally arid climate should be of great value.

"The city of Los Angeles, in southern California, is a city directly in point.

"Every one who has ever visited southern California knows that it is fully as arid there as it is around Denver.

"In Los Angeles the average annual rainfall for the past ten years has been about that of Denver for the same period.

"The value of water rights and the expense of obtaining water is greater in Los Angeles than in Denver. Los Angeles is now constructing a conduit system at great expense to bring water 160 miles from the mountains. In Denver the water is close at hand and is gotten with comparatively slight expense.

"Water rates, then, certainly should not be any higher in Denver than in Los Angeles.

"You undoubtedly will be surprised to learn that, as a matter of fact, water rates in Denver under private corporation management of 'our philanthropists and leading citizens,' are from 20 to 400 per cent. higher than they are in Los Angeles under municipal-ownership.

"Take the one item of irrigation of lawns for six months, and remember that in Los Angeles lots are 150 feet deep. It takes as much water there as here, but here are the rates:

"IRRIGATION OF 50-FOOT LOT.

Los Angeles.....	\$2.70
Denver.....	11.00

"Is it any wonder Los Angeles is growing and booming and outstripping Denver? Its citizens are not being robbed by a water company and its development is not being retarded by water rates that fill the pockets of a few at the expense of the many.

"Take the two items of bath and water closet, which are a necessity in every house, and note how Denver householders pay more than twice as much as do the citizens of Los Angeles.

"BATH AND WATER CLOSET.

Los Angeles.....	\$3.00
Denver.....	8.00

"Certainly it will not be contended that more water is used for such service in Denver than in Los Angeles.

"Take the laboring man's cottage of four rooms with bath, water closet and six months' irrigation for one lot and note how Speer and Moffat and the Cheesman heirs show their love for the laboring man by charging him more than 50 per cent. higher for water here than is charged in Los Angeles.

"4-ROOM COTTAGE WITH ONE LOT.

Los Angeles.....	\$11.70
Denver.....	17.76

"Then take a seven-room house with a lot and a half and note how this same extortion is practiced, and then remember that the Supreme Court recently has said our city council (or Evans' and Moffats' city council) has the power to fix reasonable rates now.

"7-ROOM HOUSE WITH ONE AND ONE-HALF LOTS.

Los Angeles.....	\$16.45
Denver.....	23.61

"These 'leading citizens,' who thus use the methods of the light-fingered gentry on the poor man, also forces those who own a better class of homes to contribute in the following fashion:

"10-ROOM HOUSE WITH TWO LOTS.

Los Angeles.....	\$21.30
Denver.....	27.70

"The well-to-do people do not escape from this annual contribution to corporate funds so that rich men that die may buy public parks for private monuments. This is what they contribute:

"13-ROOM HOUSE WITH THREE LOTS.

Los Angeles.....	\$24.45
Denver.....	34.96

"And the Denver millionaires, who are not to be pitied, since they ought to be smart enough to protect their own pocketbooks, have to walk up to the Denver Union Water company's counter and submit to overcharges as follows:

"16-ROOM HOUSE WITH FOUR LOTS.

Los Angeles.....	\$27.60
Denver.....	41.96

"And if any of these houses have an extra bath or an extra water closet it costs \$4 extra a year for each of them, while in Los Angeles the cost is only \$1.80.

"Not only does Los Angeles furnish water at these low rates to its citizens, but it also furnishes free all water for the city hydrants and to the city parks, for which Denver pays the Denver Union Water company more than

\$100,000 a year. And this comes out of the pockets of the Denver taxpayers.

"Is it any wonder Los Angeles is forging ahead of Denver as a residence city? There the interests of the citizens are protected. Here the city administration is in league with the corporation freebooters, who mock at contracts, defy courts and rob the people. There the city owns and operates the water-works. Here our 'leading citizens' use the water-works to sandbag the people out of their money.

"And remember, that this comparison is with a city that is in an arid country, where water is more expensive to furnish than in Denver. And then tell me gently what you think of Speer and his corporation council, who fail and refuse to fix reasonable rates, which the Supreme court has said they should fix.

SECRETARY TAFT IN OHIO AND OKLAHOMA.

Mr. Taft in The Role of Talker Makes an Admirable Dr. Jekyll.

THE PLUTOCRATIC vaudeville has recently furnished some interesting and suggestive, though perhaps not very edifying performances. Among the star performers on this stage, with a nation as the theater, no one made a more spectacular appearance than Secretary Taft. How the insiders among the chieftains of the feudalism of privileged wealth must have laughed behind the curtains when they read Mr. Taft's Ohio speech, delivered on August 19th at Columbus, and how they must have shrewdly winked at the knowing ones when in public they drew down their mouths and seriously shook their heads when discussing his utterances. How often has this farce been enacted; how often have the people been deceived and tricked by stalking-horses of plutocracy.

Who does not remember Bailey and his spread-eagle oratory in denunciation of corporate wealth and railroad aggressions, little dreaming that the people were soon to behold him stripped of his hypocritical robes and revealed as the hired man of the Standard Oil and railway interests? Yet Bailey in his palmist days, while posing as the people's champion and rapidly fattening himself from the swill-tubs of the law-breaking and predatory corporations by giving them faithful

service, never won such plaudits from the plutocracy as has Secretary Taft, the beloved of the "interests" and of all those who are warring against union labor.

There are times when verbal assault on predatory wealth is precisely what the interests desire. We have recently quoted the enthusiastic commendation of the *Financial Chronicle* of New York, which, as the *Springfield Republican*, the most carefully edited daily paper in America, declares to be above any other publication "the organ of the great corporations." We have also recently alluded to the eulogy of Secretary Taft by ex-Congressman Samuel Powers, the attorney for the New England Telephone corporation and one of the most powerful allies of the feudalism of corporate wealth in Massachusetts.

Later John D. Rockefeller, when denouncing Roosevelt, endorsed Taft for president. It is significant that an attempt was promptly made to make it appear that the interview of Mr. Rockefeller, in which he eulogized Mr. Taft, was spurious; but the New York daily that printed the interesting comments compelled the Western Union Telegraph Company to repudiate its dispatch indicating that the *World's* interview was spurious.

Evidently some of the shrewd members of the feudalism of privileged wealth and the

politicians that are seeking again to deceive the people in the interests of the industrial autocracy, became alarmed lest the unguarded utterances of Mr. Rockefeller might tend to destroy the effect of Taft's verbal assault on the corporations, just as the revelations in regard to Bailey have defeated the cherished plan of certain reactionary interests to capitalize Bailey's supposed radicalism in order to boom him as a Democratic candidate for the presidency.

Again, it is a well-known fact that the notorious Boss Cox and the brother of Secretary Taft, who was so long the intimate companion of and co-worker with Cox, are now strenuously engaged in the interests of the Secretary's presidential nomination.

Unless we very much mistake the American people, we do not believe that even Mr. Roosevelt will be able to pull the wool over the eyes of the American electorate in regard to the man who is one of the best beloved friends of plutocracy and the idol of every enemy of union labor in America.

Mr. Taft in The Role of Worker, a Fine Presentation of Mr. Hyde.

Secretary Taft, the valiant in wordy war that is intended to deceive the unthinking and advance the interests of the man whom the most authoritative financial journal of the "interests" in Wall street praises in most unstinted terms, when he comes to work is true to the dearest interests of the reactionary plutocracy.

When he was judge in Ohio, it was Mr. Taft who made the discovery that the Interstate Commerce Law could be used as a club to defeat organized labor in a battle which the toilers were waging against the railway lines, and in his rulings upholding the injunction, Mr. Taft won the gratitude of every aggressive enemy of union labor who was busily at work seeking to break down the barriers protecting the workers from helpless subserviency to the great trusts, monopolies and corporation interests.

But might it not be possible that the Taft of old days had changed? The man of valiant words in Ohio might have seen that the deliberate attempt of the trusts, monopolies and predatory wealth operating through corrupt bosses and the money-controlled machines, was destroying republican government, just as the Republic of Florence was destroyed by the di Medici family and its

corrupt use of wealth, while the outward form of free government remained intact. He might have seen the vital necessity of adopting practical provisions for insuring to the people their own government instead of permitting it to be turned over to the industrial autocracy that was making it far less responsive to the public will than the limited monarchy of England; and he might have awakened to the fact that through the abuse of the injunction power on the part of many judges who ere their elevation to the bench had been long trained to serve privileged wealth, an intolerable form of tyranny, as dangerous as it was inimical to the genius of free government, was being slowly but surely fastened upon the people through successive precedents and aggressive autocratic action taken by the judiciary.

Now if the Secretary had experienced this change of heart on these two great points which are vital issues in the momentous battle of the feudalism of privileged wealth against the people and the genius of a democratic republican government, the plutocracy must know the fact. If he dared to advocate provisions for guaranteeing in a practical manner the rule of the people and for opposing abuse of the injunction power, that large section of the plutocracy who were shrewd enough to advocate his nomination must know the truth, so that they could fix upon a more "available man."

It was therefore to Oklahoma that numbers of the privileged class, eagerly turned, as did thousands of American citizens who wished to believe that Taft was less the tool of the plutocracy than the support he was receiving from various plutocratic influences indicated. For the issues in Oklahoma were clear cut. Two of the cardinal provisions of the splendid constitution that had been framed by statesmen elected by an overwhelming vote of the people, voiced the spirit of democracy on these two great questions. The constitution makers had followed the splendid example of the people of Oregon, in embedding Direct-Legislation as a charter right, in order to make practically effective a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people"; and this constitution had also declared that the old Anglo-Saxon safeguard of jury trial should not be abrogated by an autocratic and unrepugnant ruling made by a judge who very easily might owe his elevation to the bench to the fact that the great corpora-

tions he had served faithfully for years in their systematic attempts to evade and defy the laws, had demanded for him this place in return for their campaign contributions and other aid rendered the boss and the money-controlled machine.

The spectacle presented by Mr. Taft journeying to Oklahoma was in itself amazing and indicative of the changed order, in which a few men assumed the right to say what a sovereign people should or should not have in their organic constitution. But aside from the impudent and offensive attempt to meddle with something that he had no right to interfere with, the important point for the voters was to see on which side Mr. Taft's influence would be thrown: whether for the people or for the plutocracy; for the friends of popular government or for the industrial autocracy and its corrupt and grafting servants. And happily for the people, Mr. Taft left no doubt as to his position. He has justified the good opinion of the great Wall-street organ of the "interests" by taking his stand squarely with the reactionary and unrepugnant plutocracy. He sneered at the provisions to safeguard free government through Direct-Legislation, and he attacked the power to preserve to the people the vital and inestimable provision of trial by jury. In commenting on this meddling on the part of Secretary Taft, the *New York American* in an editorial leader for August 26th well said:

"In his latest speech Secretary Taft advises citizens of Oklahoma what they shall do in their local affairs. His advice is to the effect that they shall reject their proposed State Constitution. If they do not, he puts out the veiled threat that the President may do it for them.

"One of the points to which the Secretary objects is a Democratic gerrymander of the new State. It must be admitted that gerrymanders are bad, but they are not confined to Oklahoma. They are also known in New York and in Mr. Taft's own State of Ohio. Yet the Federal Government does not feel called upon to interfere in these States. Why should it interfere in Oklahoma?

"The main objection the Secretary has to the Constitution the defeat of which he seeks, however, is that it provides a jury trial in injunction cases. The people of Oklahoma, having seen the abuse of the injunction else-

where, determined that no court could arbitrarily punish a man in their State until he is convicted by a jury of his peers.

"The Anglo-Saxon race fought for centuries to obtain just this right and supposed it had won the victory. That point seemed clearly established when this nation was founded. Yet the courts have so far usurped authority that they do punish men without right of trial by jury. This form of judicial tyranny the Oklahoma Constitution seeks to abrogate. It says that any man can demand a jury trial before he can be convicted for violating a court injunction. It thus seeks to rewrite in the charter of liberty a fundamental and recognized principle.

"Thereupon Secretary Taft travels all the way from Washington to meddle in Oklahoma concerns and to denounce the attempt to interpose a jury between the people's rights and the tyrannical court injunction.

"To uphold the interference of the Federal judiciary he, a Federal official, himself interferes with the affairs of a prospective American State."

In further commenting on the abuse of the power of injunction, the new and powerful weapon of the plutocracy against the people, the *American* alludes to the significant fact that this very instrument is now being employed to nullify the railroad laws enacted by the people's representatives in a number of the states for the better protection of the people from the greed, avarice and extortion of the great public-service corporations.

"Does Taft travel half way across the continent," it says, "and invade the local affairs of Oklahoma in order to fasten this form of tyranny on another state?

"Taft himself has been a Federal judge and has employed the injunction. In one of his most famous decisions he used it against labor. He therefore knows its powers and its abuses.

"The answer of the people to him and to the injunction itself should be a campaign for the popular election of all judges. We have had enough railroad attorneys on the bench and we have had enough judicial interference with the fundamental rights of man."

In his double rôle of Dr. Jekyll, the talker, and Mr. Hyde, the worker, Mr. Taft is more picturesque than satisfactory.

FORAKER TELLS AN UGLY STORY OUT OF SCHOOL WHICH
SHOWS HOW LODGE SERVED THE INTERESTS OF THE
LAW-BREAKERS IN FRAMING THE RATE BILL.

WE HAVE on several occasions called the attention of our readers to how the machine politicians, the boss and the servants of the corporations in our legislative halls defeat the intended ends of legislation by jugglery with the phrasing of laws; sometimes by the insertion of words that will make the statute unconstitutional; sometimes by the insertion of words that afford a loophole for the escape of the rich law-breakers.

In an interview which Senator Foraker gave out, following Mr. Taft's Columbus speech, the Ohio Senator gave a striking illustration of this nature when he told an ugly truth out of school and pointed out how Senator Lodge had juggled with the wording of the rate bill so that it will work in the interests of the rich law-breakers. Mr. Foraker said:

"The rate bill, instead of strengthening the Elkins bill, weakens it. Through an amendment inserted by Senator Lodge, a friend of

the administration, the harm was done, and his amendment required proof that an offense was 'knowingly' done. If," he continued, "the Standard Oil rebate offenses had been committed after this amendment, the word 'knowingly' would have cost the United States \$29,000,000 in fines in Judge Landis' court."

Senator Foraker is no saint; as a guardian of the people's interests when the avarice of corporate greed is whetted, he is exactly the kind of shepherd the wolves would be likely to select, but whatever else may be said of Mr. Foraker, he is not a hypocrite. One knows approximately where he stands, and he is not unfrequently disagreeably frank. In the present instance this frankness is valuable as giving a concrete illustration of how the political bosses and tools of corporate interests systematically defeat the ends of justice in the interests of the enemies of the people.

PEACE THE HANDMAID OF PROGRESS AND GUARDIAN OF
DEMOCRACY.

A FEW years ago *Life* published a striking cartoon representing Columbia at the parting of the ways. On the one side was war and foreign conquest; the ideal of the militant or imperialistic republic dominating a field devastated by slaughter, fire and the widespread desolation that follows in the wake of war. The other path led to the sunlit heights of prosperity and happiness through justice, peace and brotherhood.

These two concepts are part of the contrasting or warring ideals that face the Republic to-day and which must soon mark the settled policy of this nation. The theory of a strong government based on physical force instead of drawing its strength from moral greatness, is a part of a brood of reactionary ideals that belong to the theory of class-rule and are alien to the foundation principles of

the fathers and the ideals of the Declaration of Independence. They have gained hold on the popular imagination as the commercial feudalism, whose dominating thought has been material wealth rather than moral greatness, has gained ascendancy in the nation. But these concepts are inimical to a democratic republic. Indeed, we believe that no republic can long live which supports a large standing army. Class interests, personal ambition and a powerful engine to further the interests of the two, would end the republic as so often has been the case with experiments in free government in the past.

No greater fallacy was ever advanced than that this nation, isolated as she is from the reactionary and jealous Old World powers, needs a great fighting force at home to pre-

serve her greatness. Indeed, the presence of such a force would be a double menace: it would make the nation the easy prey of conscienceless and intriguing influences that sought war for selfish ends, and it would be an even greater menace to popular government from the constant threat, as indicated above, emanating through the union of privileged wealth and personal ambition, when the people strove to shackle cunning and jail criminals in a business-like and effective manner. Happily for America the day of moral lethargy seems to be passing and a strong sentiment is springing up in various parts of the land which is aggressively opposed to the military ideal.

One of the recent examples of this nature was seen in Kansas, when the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Professor E. T. Fairchild, took a pronounced stand for the cause of peace and civilization. The National Rifle Association recently tried to have rifle shooting taught in the public schools. Mr. Fairchild had just returned from attending the meeting of the National Educational Association at Los Angeles, when his attention was called to the request for the teaching of shooting. To a representative of the *Topeka Daily Journal* Superintendent Fairchild said:

"There will be no rifle shooting taught in the public schools of Kansas so

long as I have anything to say about it.

"I received one communication on this subject several months ago and did not look with favor upon it at the time. It was talked of quite generally at the Los Angeles meeting. The president of the association made an address on the subject and urged that teachers of United States history should try to place less emphasis on the war side of the records, and more on the important commercial and social movements. He showed that the schools of the world, by their teachings, might do much toward the promotion of universal peace by teaching less about the wars of nations. Children in the schools should be taught that there is something better than war, and some heroes greater than military heroes.

"I do not believe in the plan of offering a course of rifle shooting to the boys in the public schools. The idea is that it will encourage the art of war, and furnish a foundation for a future great army. I am opposed to that sort of thing."

It will be noted that the President of the National Educational Association took a high stand for true civilization and against longer fostering the reactionary and un-Christian ideal of the imperialistic, military and anti-republican element in the nation.

Peace is the sister of freedom, the guardian of democracy, the handmaid of progress.

UNIQUE TAXATION IN FORCE IN EDMONTON, ALBERTA.

MR. J. J. PASTORIZA, a valued friend of *THE ARENA*, who is making a special study of municipal government and of taxation, recently handed us two communications he had received, one from Mr. D. M. McMillan, city assessor of Edmonton, and the other from Mr. A. G. Harrison, Secretary of the Board of Trade of the same city. The letters are in reply to questions relative to the way Edmonton levied its taxes. The assessor wrote:

"In answer to your favor received this A. M., allow me to state that this city does not tax buildings or any improvements. Taxes are levied on land, businesses, income and special franchises. We license real estate, offices feed and sale stables, drays,

barber shops, pool rooms, bowling alleys, etc. The city receives half of the liquor licenses imposed upon hotels by the Province. Land is assessed at its actual cash value. We assess no stocks, but instead, we take the floor space of the buildings and get the number of square feet and multiply the same by the classification for the certain business carried on.

"We charge banks \$7.50 per square foot. Jewelry, \$5.00. Ordinary stores \$4.00 and warehouses \$1.00. These amounts are placed on the assessment roll and the same rate levied as on land.

"Persons in receipt of income outside of their business, such as salaries, interest, etc., are taxed over and above \$1,000.00 per annum. This income arrived at is placed

on roll and levied upon the same as upon land.

"The rates levied for 1906 were: 7½ mills for general rate, ¾ mills for debenture rate and 2½ mills for school. Total 10½ mills on the dollar."

The Secretary of the Board of Trade gave some additional information of interest. He also indicates the way the farmers of the Province adjust their taxation. We quote from his communication the following:

"Houses and personal property are not taxed; neither are the improvements on a lot. The assessed valuation of the city of Edmonton of \$17,000,000 refers only to the realty and not to the buildings at all. . . . The city of Edmonton is the only city in the world so far as I know having this system of taxation. It is a combination of the Henry George theory and one of our own. Our city is granted a charter by the Provincial Government and under that charter we have our home rule as we draw it up ourselves and have amended it from time to time.

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"There is no such thing as a tax on farmers' stock or implements, the only tax he pays is his school tax and local improvements tax, the amount and rate of which is fixed by himself at his local improvement board meeting and school board meeting. The tax runs from \$5 to \$10 per quarter section of 160 acres at the present time.

"In this country the farmers get together and form a local improvement district of their own and a local school district of their own, and consequently are their own masters as far as taxation is concerned. They plan the cost of road improvements or school houses and the amount of the teachers' salaries and tax themselves in proportion. There is no tax on implements or stock. The school tax runs about \$4.50 and the improvement tax about \$5.50 on each quarter section as explained, which is not very heavy.

"The city man pays for city taxes only; there is no state tax. The Province gets its revenue from the Federal Government at Ottawa and from the railways and corporations doing business in the Province. The farmer has the best of it in this country, not the worst of it."

DIRECT-LEGISLATION NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the Massachusetts Referendum League.

The Washington Campaign.

WE ARE in receipt of a letter from a Washington Republican State Senator to Mr. George H. Shibley which throws light on the campaign for direct-legislation in that state at the recent legislative session, and also upon the outlook for the next fight. After speaking of the introduction of the measure in the Senate, he says:

"Recognizing from the outset the impossibility of getting the necessary two-thirds vote to carry in the Senate, we secured the introduction of a bill in the House of Representatives by Hon. Glen Rauck, an influential Republican member from Vancouver, Clark county (which lies directly across the Columbia river from Portland, Oregon, and where the *Portland Oregonian* is the daily

gospel and has, with the Oregon experience, converted the people into a recognition of their own sovereignty).

"Without any preliminary work or organization along systematic lines, but with the quick and hearty coöperation of the State Federation of Labor, the State Grange, and the leaders of various other reform movements, the legislature was fairly deluged with petitions for the passage of the bill. I had never in my most optimistic moments dreamed of so spontaneous and practically unanimous response—the limit of signatures seemed to be only the number of people reached by our volunteers—there were no class distinctions in the signers. The same mail that brought me the scrawling signatures from a backwoods logging camp, brought me a list from a leading office building in Seattle, including some

of the leading professional and business men of our city. The moral forces of our state were and are solidly in line. It became speedily apparent that just two forces were opposed, viz., the special privilege corporation interests and the organized liquor traffic (N. B.—Some institutions see their 'finish').

"The legislature had been elected on a *Direct Primary* issue, after a six-year campaign for that reform. It was a frequent statement that a majority of the members, particularly in the Senate, were at heart opposed but dared not defeat the popular will. Hence we secured the enactment of that law, and I did not permit any intrusion or interference of our Direct-Legislation program in the prior political position of the Direct Primary, yet it was surprising—in result, not in cause—that the practical oneness of the two propositions began to dawn upon the minds of all. When the time came for a vote on Mr. Rauck's bill in the House, after an altogether one-sided debate, it carried by more than the necessary two-thirds vote and came to the Senate. Being brought to a vote it received the defeat which was expected (25 to 15, if I recall vote correctly) but we secured a *roll-call record* which indicates the sentiment of every member of both House and Senate and paves the way for future successful action. Possibly the expression of Senator S. T. Smith—a Republican of the conservative 'business interests' school—in the debate which preceded the vote in the Senate will best indicate our situation. His remarks were something like this:

"I do n't know whether I altogether believe in this new-fangled proposition or not—I have n't studied it enough to fully understand it—but I know that this proposition is coming in this state and we 'll have to take it whether we like it or not. It 's the Direct Primary this year and it will be the Initiative and Referendum two years from now. You might just as well vote for it voluntarily now as to be compelled to do it two years from now. I know that the best people in my county (Snohomish) want this law, and I intend to vote for it at this time."

"Since the legislature adjourned, a temporary organization of a State Direct-Legislation League has been effected with W. H. Kaufman (address, Bellingham, Washington) as secretary. The movement will be thoroughly pressed from now on and we confidently expect success at the legislative session

in 1909. My term extends over that session as do nine others who voted for the bill; 22 seats are to be filled by election, November, 1908, the total number of senators is 42."

The Work in Missouri.

THE MISSOURI legislature, as the readers of THE ARENA know, passed a concurrent resolution submitting to the people a constitutional amendment establishing the initiative and referendum. This amendment will be voted upon at the general election of November, 1908, and the Missouri Direct-Legislation League of which Dr. W. P. Hill is the president is putting forth a splendid campaign of heroic and devoted work to secure a full vote at that time. Miss Anna Beard, Dr. Hill's efficient helper, sends us a copy of a cartoon they are sending out to the press of the state. She says: "We have experimented by sending out plates of cartoons and plates of editorial matter and have found that pictures are 'open books' to the country people. One editor secured 16 new subscriptions in one week as the result of the cartoon he printed. The league has engaged John Z. White for one whole year to speak throughout the state. He will begin in November and make an average of four addresses a week. Since he is the best man that can be secured, you will see that we are quite in earnest about making a success of our fight in Missouri. Mr. S. R. Tyler is making a summer and fall trip throughout northwest Missouri and making curbstone talks and handing out circulars. A memorial meeting will be held in October by the Single Tax League in memory of Mrs. Nake and her daughter, two active members, who were drowned in the recent 'Columbia' disaster off the northern coast of California. Bigelow may come over from Cincinnati and speak on that occasion."

Topeka, Kansas.

THERE is little doubt, says the *Municipal Journal*, that Topeka will adopt the commission plan of government. The petitioners calling an election already have nearly the required number of signatures. The Des Moines, rather than the Galveston plan, will be adopted. The Des Moines plan provides for the recall of a councilman whose conduct causes dissatisfaction, and also provides for the initiative and referendum. A petition bearing signatures numbering 25 per cent. of

the total vote cast at the previous election is necessary to hold a recall election. Legislation may initiate on petition of 25 per cent. of the voters.

Items.

THE BILL in the Massachusetts legislature for the direct election of United States Senators was killed by a *strictly party vote*. The 11 Democrats voted for it and the 22 Republicans voted against it. Can it be that the Republican members of the upper house of the Great and General Court doubt that the people whom they are supposed to "represent" so perfectly would vote for Mr. Lodge, the great arch-enemy of popular government, to "represent" them in the Federal Senate?

THREE amendments to the Cambridge, Massachusetts, city charter will be submitted to referendum vote at the coming election.

THE PROHIBITIONISTS of North Dakota are on the war-path again over the provision in the constitutional amendment applying to constitutional amendments. They are afraid of resubmission. Governor Burke has endorsed their position and says the initiative and referendum should apply only to statutory laws. There is little likelihood however that the amendment will be defeated by the people and so the only thing the Prohibitionists can do is to try to prevent its actual submission, through the courts.

THE Omaha Federation of Improvement Clubs recently adopted a plan whereby it is believed the operations of the initiative and referendum law may be expedited, the scheme being to have a roster of from 4,000 to 6,000 persons throughout the city, who will upon request sign referendum petitions which bear the indorsement of the federation. By having these names divided into districts it is believed that the necessary number of signatures may be secured on a petition within twenty-four hours. Much of the repairing which has been done this season on the pavements by the city engineer was condemned by the federation, the charge being made that many of the repair patches do not stick to the pavements. The federation proposes to get into the fight in a way to compel efficiency and honesty in public affairs.

ALDEN FREEMAN, Jardine Wallace, Edmund D. Torpey, and Willis F. Small East Orange's Independent candidates for councilman, and member of the Board of Edu-

cation, Justice of Peace, and Constable, respectively, have conducted the oddest political campaign the state has witnessed in many years. All four are pledged to the personal working out of the initiative and referendum principle if they are elected to office. Before the close of the campaign it is their purpose to visit every house in their district and interview the men and women explaining their views and aims. The four are armed with visiting cards in the shape of small leaflets, bearing the pictures of the candidates and a brief statement of what they stand for. Their platform as stated on the circular, is as follows:

"Honest elections, direct nominations, recount of primary ballots, publication of campaign expenses, separate city elections, square deal between the corporations and the people, publicity for public business, civil service examinations for city employes, railroad track depression, retention of present railroad stations, strict enforcement of laws and contracts, a non-partisan administration of the city government."

THE PEOPLE of Wheeling, West Virginia, took a referendum vote on a school board issue July 16th which resulted in an affirmative majority of 2,924 to 892.

THE WISCONSIN legislature passed a bill providing that in the cities of the state an ordinance could be submitted to the voters on a 10 per cent. petition, and Governor Davidson vetoed it.

MELROSE, Massachusetts, held a special referendum election on two measures July 23d, both of which were defeated. The first was a bill calling for the appropriation of \$25,000 for the erection of city stables on Tremont street, which had been passed by the Aldermen and approved by Mayor Moore. This was defeated by 519 to 291. The other was for the appropriation of \$15,000 for a continuous edgestone, and out of the 778 votes cast, 333 voted for it and 445 against. A referendum vote on such matters is allowable by the city charter when 100 citizens petition.

AT THE primary election of August 7th the citizens of Atlanta took advisory referendum votes upon two proposed amendments to the city charter. The amendment providing for majority rule in primaries was favored by 2,775 to 803. The amendment

providing for the popular election of a large number of city officers who are now appointed carried by 2,697 to 1,128. These votes were ordered by the city executive committee of the Democratic party merely to get an expression from the people.

IN A SPEECH made at Oklahoma City, August 24th, Secretary Taft "took a rap at the initiative and referendum" which lays him open either to a charge of insincerity or to the grave suspicion that he does not believe in popular government. To be sure, it was only a "rap." After complaining about the alleged gerrymander of the state by the Democrats, he said: "This itself shows what a mockery an attempt by initiative and referendum to ascertain the true will of the people was, and how empty their declaration 'let the people rule.'" He advised the people of Oklahoma to vote against the adoption of the constitution.

ANOTHER "to-be-bossless" party has been organized in Brooklyn by some energetic and patriotic citizens who have struggled vainly to ally themselves with various political organizations in the hope of finding pure politics, but have severed connections with various so-called reform parties because of their dependence on a boss. The new party platform contains clauses for the referendum and initiative, equal suffrage, three-cent carfares during rush hours, public-ownership and operation of all public utilities.

THE PORTLAND *Oregonian* challenges the Democratic opponents of Mr. Bryan to show why the National initiative and referendum is so absurd as represented by them. This is a fair demand. They know something about how it works in Oregon. Too many of Mr. Bryan's editorial critics, there is reason to believe, do not even know what the initiative and referendum is.

THE HULLABALOO raised throughout the country in criticism of the referendum on South Dakota's so-called reform divorce law has been based on an unquestioned assumption that the quick passage of the law is of all things devoutly to be wished for. Perhaps so. Perhaps not. It is at least pleasant to find a saner view expressed by the *Chicago-Record-Herald*. It says:

"The referendum may prove a blessing in disguise. We have had divorce congresses

galore, but a popular expression on the question will be a novelty. The country will know what the qualified voters of South Dakota think of the get-divorced-quick business, and the knowledge is bound to be useful."

THE CONNECTICUT Senate, which is Republican by 27 to 8, voted to refer the six and a half-million dollar bond issue to a referendum vote of the citizens at the next general election, but the House saved the party from such a "wild and revolutionary action."

THE DEMOCRATIC party of Alabama made a rule that the persons who should succeed Senators Morgan and Pettus should be chosen at primary elections by popular vote in the party, directing the governor to appoint the successful candidate. This method of procedure for the selection of senators has been followed in other Southern states, as well as Alabama, and in the next Congress there will be several senators who have been chosen directly by the people.

THE PORTLAND *Oregonian* fitly calls attention to two instances of attempted use of the referendum where the proper and effective course would have been the employment of the initiative. These were the attempts made by certain granges to refer the State University appropriation, and the effort of the Multnomah County Court to kill the bill by which the legislature had very properly established the rights of sheriffs and so frustrated a game of spite which that particular court was playing. Both these referendum petitions were declared irregular and thrown out, but, as the *Oregonian* very properly says, in these cases the initiative rather than the referendum should have been employed.

JUDGE LINDSEY points out that the Guggenheims bought the Colorado legislature before the reign of unwritten law began in that state, "but," says the *Detroit News*, "he omits telling that they bought the legislature to prevent the calling of a constitutional convention for the adoption of the initiative and referendum."

THE CONSTITUTION of Rhode Island says:

"The General Assembly shall have no power, hereafter, without the express consent of the people, to incur state debts to an amount exceeding fifty thousand dollars, except in time of war, or in case of insurrection or invasion.

A PETITION was signed by 14,700 electors of the city of San Francisco, calling for an amendment of the city charter raising the salaries of the entire police force. Under the San Francisco charter the proposed amendment must be submitted to a referendum.

THE MUNICIPAL League of Detroit has been questioning the candidates for delegates to the Constitutional Convention to be held in Detroit and throughout the state, as to their

attitude on the initiative and referendum, right of municipalities to own and operate public utilities, and home rule for cities. Out of 45 answers received in August 38 replied that they are in favor of the initiative and referendum—while 33 out of 41 favor municipal-ownership and home rule.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

Boston, Mass.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NEWS.

BY ROBERT TYSON,

Secretary of the National Proportional Representation League.

Notes.

THE SECRETARY has prepared a list of the members of the American Proportional Representation League classified alphabetically by states, etc., and has sent a copy to each member of the League.

THE Saint Cloud *Union Herald* editorially supports Proportional Representation, citing the Oregon inequality as an illustration.

READERS of this publication who become aware of any news concerning Proportional Representation or the movement for obtaining it, or its use in voluntary associations, will confer a great favor by communicating with the editor of this department.

THE Proportional Representation Society of England has published a full account of its test election in a well-printed pamphlet of 24 pages, several copies of which were kindly sent me by Mr. John H. Humphreys, the secretary.

IN THE *Canadian Municipal Journal*, published in Montreal, a series of articles on improving voting methods is appearing in leisurely fashion, one every three or four months—which is perhaps the best way of keeping the subject longer before the readers. Proportional Representation has been dealt with, and preferential voting for mayors, etc., is promised as the subject of the next article.

THE CITY of Everett, Washington, with a population of about 21,000, is expected to be advanced to a city of the first class, with a new charter. Several gentlemen are taking

the opportunity of advancing the idea of Proportional Representation for the city elections, together with the initiative and referendum.

New Rule Books.

A NEW edition of Proportional Representation rule books is now ready. The title is *Voting Methods for Associations, Societies, Trades Unions, Clubs, etc.* Previous to being put in pamphlet form, the matter has appeared in the shape of three articles published in three successive issues of *The Voice*, Winnipeg, Manitoba. The editor of that journal is Mr. Arthur W. Puttee, ex-member of the parliament of Canada and a staunch friend of Direct-Legislation and Proportional Representation.

The rule books deal with the election of single officers by the preferential method, and with the election of committees, etc., on the proportional principle. Three different plans are given for the latter, namely, the simple Single Vote, the Double Vote, and the Hare-Spence System.

Single copies may be obtained from the secretary of the American Proportional Representation League, 10 Harbord street, Toronto, Canada, on sending him two or three postage stamps. He will quote prices for quantities on application.

Missouri.

MR. SHERIDAN WEBSTER has been elected a delegate to a joint committee of civic organizations in St. Louis, Missouri, for the

purpose of securing changes in the charter of that city—possibly an entirely new charter. Mr. Webster is a member of the Proportional Representation League. He wants to get Direct-Legislation and Proportional Representation into the amended charter. Being on the sub-committee to suggest plan of organization and work, he is in a good position to keep these fundamental reforms to the front in the work of the joint civic committee.

Oregon.

THE SENTIMENT in Oregon is growing rapidly. A resolution was introduced and strongly supported in the State Grange, demanding Single-Member Legislative Districts. It was defeated and a large majority of the delegates and members present were strongly in favor of some plan of Proportional Representation.

The last election, in which fifty-nine Republicans and only one Democrat were elected to the House of Representatives, has done much to call the attention of our people to the glaring injustice of our present system.

Kansas.

JUDGE RUPPENTHAL writes:

"Kansas has been having a great fight and thorough discussion of the primary elections idea, and there is quite a strong element who favor the primary law, but insist upon a preferential ballot, so that a majority can (and must) nominate. One paper, the *Topeka Daily State Journal*, stands very firmly for this feature.

"I have done all I could, not only to aid in securing a primary law, but also to get a preferential feature into the law. I was at the last session of the legislature several days, and talked over the matter very fully with all the leaders of both parties. (There are not party lines in the primary fight here, as most Democrats favor it, and most Republicans.) The law was finally defeated by the anti-reform element, but it will be the foremost issue in 1908 in state matters.

"All of this helps Proportional Representation indirectly, and I am hoping for Proportional Representation (or preferential voting) in a primary law, as from that we can easily argue for preferential voting in general elections, and Proportional Representation next. The predominance of the primary fight has caused Proportional Representation, and the Initiative, Referendum and the Recall,

and all similar matters to pass to the background."

Great Britain.

LORD COURTNEY has introduced into the House of Lords a measure called "The Municipal Representation Bill." It is purely permissive in character. Any municipal council may adopt it, or abandon it if dissatisfied with its working. If it is adopted no change will be made in the distribution of seats; as at present, the whole borough, or the wards where the borough is divided, would remain the constituency. But in the first place the elections will be triennial, so that the whole council in every borough will be elected simultaneously; and in the second place the elector is not, as at present, to have as many votes as there are members to be chosen, but one transferable vote, which he may allot to the candidates in the order of his preference.

The bill has been accorded a second reading and has been referred to a select committee for examination and report.

Australia.

THE Anglican Provincial Synod of Victoria, Australia, uses the full Hare-Spence system, as also does the metropolitan diocese of Melbourne.

THE *Melbourne Age*, perhaps the most powerful daily newspaper in Australia, gave strong editorial support to a bill in the Commonwealth Parliament which provided for preferential voting in single-member districts.

PROFESSOR NANSON, of the Melbourne University, continues to do excellent work by writing and speaking in favor of Proportional Representation.

The English Society.

THE ANNUAL meeting of the Proportional Representation Society was held at the house of the president, Lord Avebury, 6 St. James Square, London. The report for 1906 stated that the membership of the society had steadily increased during the year, and that there had been a growing demand for information regarding its proposals.

In the course of the president's remarks, he said that Proportional Representation had been in operation in Denmark for half a century and in Switzerland for a considerable number of years. In Belgium it had been a great success, and he was authorized by the Belgian minister to say that the system worked very satisfactorily. One drawback

to our present system was that many excellent men on both sides lost their seats.

Sir William Anson said that a great injury was done to the political life of the country generally by the present practice of basing representation in the House of Commons almost entirely upon single-member constituencies. The elector in some constituencies found himself in a permanent minority and never got represented at all. In other constituencies where there was a fighting chance the elector found that he was reduced to voting either for the nominee of one party or of the other, with neither of which he might

really agree,—for there were many graduations in politics,—or of not voting at all. This system really gave the elector no choice. The member, too, became too much like a counter in the party game and too little like the free choice of the electors, to whom otherwise he might recommend himself in many ways. It also put the members too much at the mercy of the government and enabled the government to hold office after it had obviously lost the confidence of the country.

ROBERT TYSON.

Toronto, Canada.

PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

By RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the National Public-Ownership League.

Concord, Massachusetts.

IT IS claimed that Concord has the cheapest, most efficient and best municipal electric plant to be found in this country. A few years ago a promoter appeared before a special light committee in this historic town and stated that an adequate plant might be equipped for \$16,000. Colonel Richard F. Barrett was then as now, chairman of the light board. He took exceptions to the cost stated and said that to install a plant suitable to the needs of Concord would necessitate an expenditure of \$100,000. Colonel Barrett pointed out that if there was a profit in lighting, it was only common sense that Concord should make it instead of outside promoters and capitalists. That there was a profit he was convinced, for otherwise there would not be such anxiety to obtain a charter to light the town. Concord then gave authority to Colonel Barrett and his associates on the board, to install a lighting plant. February 2, 1900, the electric lighting system was put in operation and the service both public and private was first class from the start. Concord people were given light at rates as low as those of any other town or city in the state except Danvers. The rate was 12 cents per kilowatt hour, and the charge for street lighting and electricity for power and cooking was proportionately low. Last April the Board gave the townsfolk a surprise

that was hailed with acclaim, by voluntarily reducing the cost of lighting. Now the lighting is cheaper than in any town or city in Massachusetts. Current has since then been charged for at the following rates: For light, 10 cents per kilowatt hour; for power, 6 cents per kilowatt hour; for cooking purposes, 4 cents per kilowatt hour. There is a minimum charge of 75 cents per month for light, \$1.50 for power and \$2 per month for cooking purposes from April 1st to September 30th, and \$1 per month from October 1st to March 31st. The Concord charge for electric lighting per kilowatt hour being 10 cents is several cents lower than anywhere else in the state. The cost in Boston is between 15 and 20 cents. How is it done? Well, there are no private profits for privileged capitalists, there are no politics in the plant, and there is close and wise economy. Roughly speaking, the Concord lighting plant has cost in cash payments on construction during the nine years since its birth, \$114,500. The number of consumers supplied in January of the current year was 474. There were but 50 customers when the plant started.

Municipal Lighting in Canada.

TWENTY-SEVEN per cent. of the electric light plants in Canada are municipal, 98 being owned by cities as against 259 private plants, according to the Central Station List

for March, 1907. This is a slightly higher percentage than for the United States, the latter being at that time 24.9 per cent. or 1,096 as against 3,305 private electric-light concerns. More than half the total number are located in the province of Ontario, Quebec and Nova Scotia coming next in the list. Most of the cities with municipal plants have a population of less than 10,000 except St. Thomas, Guelph, Glace Bay, Kingston, Fort William and Valleyfield (Quebec) and Victoria. A gain of 18 municipal electric plants was made in the year since March, 1906.

Municipal gas plants are owned by the following cities and towns: Moncton, Belleville, Berlin, Brockville, Guelph, Kingston, London, Owen Sound, St. Thomas, Waterloo and Sorel. Two towns, Newcastle and Pictou, after acquiring the gas plants substituted electricity in their stead. Virden, in the province of Manitoba, owns an acetylene gas plant, supplying a population of about 2,500; Morris, Manitoba, also has its acetylene plant.

Canada Organizes.

THE Canadian Public-Ownership League was organized recently at Toronto, Canada. There were about fifty delegates from the five local leagues of a similar character in the city. A constitution was adopted and the following officers were elected: President, A. W. Wright; Vice-Presidents, Messrs. J. Walter Curry and Jesse Wright of Toronto Junction; Recording Secretary, C. W. Cavers; Corresponding Secretary, J. H. Duthrie; Treasurer, Dr. E. H. Adams. Executive Committee, Messrs. J. M. Wilkinson, R. G. Agnew, W. V. Todd, H. W. Joslin, J. L. Richardson, W. A. Sherwood and E. M. Dumas. The objects of the league are stated to be: "To enlist the hearty coöperation of all persons, irrespective of creed or politics, who approve the principle of public-ownership as laid down in our platform; to carry on an active propaganda for the purpose of arousing public opinion on this subject; to bring the principle of public-ownership within the sphere of practical politics, and to obtain for the people the initiative and referendum in respect to the public-ownership of utilities."

Legal Decision on Purchase of Water-Works.

THE Eau Claire Water Company in a suit against the city of Eau Claire sought to re-

strain the city from enforcing an alleged right to purchase the plaintiff's water-works. The suit was brought before the Supreme Court of Wisconsin. The water-works were built under a grant of 1885 and have furnished water to the city ever since. In 1900, in accordance with the provision of the ordinance, the city began proceedings for an appraisal of the property with a view to exercising its right to purchase. After the appraisal was made the city refused to exercise its right to purchase the property and the company continued its ownership and control until 1902, when differences arose between the city and the owners of the water-works respecting the sufficiency of the plant and the services rendered. In the meantime the bondholders had had a receiver appointed. In view of these circumstances certain improvements of the plant were decided upon and carried out at an expense of \$60,000. In 1905 the city notified the company that it desired an appraisal for the purpose of purchasing the works. Arbitrators were appointed—the company protesting—and the appraisal completed. In regard to the contention of the plaintiff that the city had no power to contract for the purchase of the water-works and that, therefore, the parts of the ordinance respecting it were null and void, the court said that the power of a city to establish, maintain and operate a system of water-works has been clearly recognized as within the exercise of powers granted to it to accomplish the usual functions pertaining to police regulations. The plaintiffs claimed that as steps were taken for the appointment of appraisers before the expiration of the five-year period, the proceedings were therefore void; but the court held that the city was not bound to decide whether it would purchase until the appraisal was made, so that a notice to the water company to appoint appraisers, served on August 4, 1905, was not premature when the five-year period was about to expire December 15th. Regarding the company's claim that the city was financially unable to consummate the purchase, the court decided that the question could not be determined at that time and that its merits could not arise under the facts.

Misinformation.

THE PRESS bureaus maintained by the public utility corporations of this country for the purpose of disseminating false informa-

tion on public-ownership are still shamelessly busy, notwithstanding the recent exposures of their nefarious work.

The *Pittsburg Leader* was "favored" with several contributions from one of these agencies recently, showing the blessings of private-ownership of natural monopolies and the loss and disaster that invariably follow public-ownership and operation of any of the public utilities. In particular these "news" items attacked the public light and water plant of Martin's Ferry, West Virginia, representing it as badly managed and inefficient. But the *Leader* got the facts about Martin's Ferry and promptly disputed the story as printed in the other papers. The story went just the same, however, and has been widely copied throughout the country.

Another striking example of the methods and shrewdness of these professional falsifiers is the report of the "failure" of "municipal-ownership" in Baltimore, where an old, inefficient and isolated dynamo which has been used for lighting the city hall was thrown out and power bought of the private lighting corporation which has the franchise for the city's electric lighting and is therefore in a position to produce power economically. Such "newspapers" as the *New York Times* reported that incident in this way: "Baltimore has abandoned its municipal lighting plant because a private company offered to supply the same illumination at one-quarter the city's cost."

Philadelphia Gas.

THE ORDINANCE continuing the lease of the Philadelphia Gas Works to the United Gas Improvement Company of Philadelphia, upon practically the same terms as the old lease, has been approved by the city council. The loud protests of the citizens and civic bodies were of no avail, and the corrupt council practically gave the U. G. I. a present of \$25,000,000 and absolute control of the gas works during the next twenty years. Here is an example of that "public-ownership without public operation" of which we are seeing so much theoretical advocacy in a certain class of milk-and-water journals.

Rio de Janeiro, The Paris of South America.

THE PUBLIC-SPIRITED citizens of Rio de Janeiro, having decided to make it a beautiful city, went about the necessary improvements

in a business-like way. The Federal Congress gave to Mayor Passos and other gentlemen who were to have charge of the rebuilding of the city unusual powers. They could condemn property and establish an equitable system of valuation. A municipal opera house, a National Library and a National School of Fine Arts have been built on the beautiful central avenue. Whole districts of squalid tenements were torn down and \$600,000 expended in building model homes for workingmen. The Light and Power Company of Rio de Janeiro has been given many closely guarded franchise privileges and is under strict control, as a semi-public corporation, paving the way for public-ownership. It operates nearly all the public utilities of the city, the one hundred and twenty-five miles of street-railway, the public lighting, the furnishing of gas, and also has the telephone concession. All concessions of this kind are taxed annually, based on their gross receipts, and at the expiration of fifty years the entire properties revert to the government without extra compensation.

Wisconsin's New Law.

AT THE recent session of the Wisconsin legislature a law was passed providing for the issuance of certificates of indebtedness by cities in the case of the purchase of public utilities, such certification to be against the public utility property. The act places utilities operated by municipalities on the same basis, as regards revenues and system of accounting as utilities operated by private companies. Allowance must be made for depreciation and taxes in establishing rates.

Postal Reform.

POSTMASTER-GENERAL MEYER has promised to make some recommendation to the incoming congress for important reforms in the different branches of the service. The establishment of a parcels-post and a postal savings-bank, both of which have been demanded by THE ARENA for many years, are two reforms to which he has committed himself. Mr. Meyer says the proposed parcels-post system has not been worked out in detail, but out of consideration for the express companies, it is safe to say, the weight of the parcel will be limited to eight or ten pounds. The need for a savings-bank department seem to be proved, he says, by the practice many foreign and American work-

men have of purchasing postal orders payable to themselves, which they can cash at pleasure. Even for the interest they do not care to take the risk of putting money in savings banks. Out of consideration, likewise, for the private savings-bank industry, the amount of individual deposits will be limited to a small figure. Of course the banking and express interests so faithfully represented at the Capital will do yeoman service in crippling the efficiency and value of any such reforms if they cannot again succeed in preventing them altogether. Another innovation proposed is the stamp-vending machine to be placed in hotels and public places. They are now in use in Germany. The first machines will be installed in Washington and New York. The Postmaster-General also will recommend the reduction of foreign postage to two cents, and promises an investigation of the deficit which, if it means anything, means the excessive payments to railroads.

Municipal Ferry.

THE "Bay Ridge," first of the new municipal ferryboats intended for service on the line from South Ferry to Thirty-ninth street, South Brooklyn, was recently put into commission. On her trial trip from the municipal Staten Island ferry slip there were on board Mayor McClellan, Dock Commissioner Bensel and other city officials. The "Bay Ridge," was built at Wilmington, Delaware, and is one of the best boats in the ferry service, capable of giving sixteen miles an hour. The local improvement board of the Bronx has recently presented to the Board of Estimate a resolution, passed unanimously, to have the city acquire and operate the plant of the New York and College Point Ferry Company. Local authorities of the Bronx and Queens will carry on an active campaign this fall to have this ferry municipally managed. A resolution is now pending before the Commissioner of Docks and Ferries asking him to make a report recommending the establishment of a municipal ferry service between Whitestone and Clason Point or Throgg's Neck. Commissioner Bensel opposes the creation of such a service, it is understood, believing traffic would not warrant the maintenance of such a line.

Municipal Slaughter-Houses.

MUNICIPAL slaughter-houses will solve the problem of pure meat, says George W.

McGuire, chief food and drug inspector of the State Department of Health, New Jersey. The local boards can bring this about by arousing public opinion. The meat inspector now appointed by them is handicapped in his work, not seeing the cattle before they are killed and cut up. The carcass is dressed and all signs of disease obliterated. Only a bacteriological test will then reveal the presence of disease. There is no way, he says, to solve the problem but to establish municipal slaughter-houses and pass a law forbidding meat without the government stamp or the municipal slaughter-house stamp from being sold.

Uncle Sam's Railways.

WHEN Congress convenes in December, the government will be owning and operating two underground railroads. They are not so extensive nor model, however, that they will solve the railway problem in general. Like other railways, however, they will be used as a matter of convenience by senators and representatives. They will be run from the capitol in Washington to the adjoining new office buildings. The distance on these subway roads, which are to be from 16 to 25 feet below the surface, will be but a few hundred feet, yet they will be equipped with comfortable passenger coaches, operated by electricity. They will extend from the elevator shafts in the Senate and House, respectively, to the corresponding elevator shafts in the Senate and House office buildings, enabling senators and representatives to get to their seats from their offices without going out of doors.

The National Domain.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT in his speech before the National Editorial Association recommended that the remainder of the coal, oil and ranch lands in the public domain be retained by the government for the common good of the people. This is a natural result of the oppressive conditions forced on the people by the coal, oil and beef trusts. The people of the United States, as a whole, have not awakened to the fact that they are being daily robbed of their own birth-right. The public lands have been stolen and exploited most shamefully, and with a corresponding shamelessness the officials at Washington have been abetting the game. There is only one body of men strong enough to become a

competitor with the coal, oil and beef trusts of to-day and that is the government. Individuals having tried and failed, now let the government try what it can do. Government-ownership and operation of the coal, oil and ranch lands which still remain in its possession would soon bring the trusts to their knees.

Brooklyn's Municipal Asphalt Plant.

THE CITY of Brooklyn has recently completed a municipal paving plant which will be operated under the general direction of the Chief Engineer of the Bureau of Highways, but will be under the immediate direction of an experienced superintendent who will supervise the mixing of materials and have general oversight of the plant, and a foreman who will have charge of all labor, tools and apparatus. An unanticipated difficulty is that of obtaining laborers, since these must pass the municipal civil-service examination, and most of the laborers who have had experience in asphalt paving in Brooklyn and New York are foreigners who have not yet taken out their citizenship papers. The object of this plant is primarily to maintain the million and a half square yards of asphalt paving already out of guarantee; but incidentally it is believed that it will insure more prompt repairs by the contractor of pavements in guarantee.

Joplin, Missouri.

THE RESULTS of a comparative study of the quality and price of electric light in twenty-seven cities are embodied in a recent report. The comparison is distinctly favorable to the Joplin plant which is municipally owned and operated. The report shows a steady increase in earnings and a neat surplus after figuring off interest and depreciation.

Town Wharf Cannot be Leased.

THE Supreme Court of New Jersey has recently decided that the powers delegated to a municipal corporation by the legislature, authorizing it to regulate wharves and to charge and collect wharfage for their use, are public or legislative powers, and incapable of delegation or of surrender by the municipi-

pality. A municipality cannot, therefore, surrender the powers by leasing the exclusive use and control of its wharves for any period of time, without express statutory authority to do so.

Newark, New Jersey.

MUNICIPAL-OWNERSHIP of an electric lighting plant for general street lighting will be left to the decision of the voters at the next general election. If a city plant is favored there will be time to prepare plans and construct a plant, so that it will be ready for operation at the expiration of the new contract with the Public Service Corporation. The council, when it decided to leave the question of a general plant to a popular vote, decided to appropriate \$30,000 to install a lighting plant in the new city hall.

Clay Center, Kansas.

A NOVEL and interesting proposition has been made to the citizens of this town where the lighting plant is owned by the people. The city council has adopted a resolution offering to furnish free, from the city plant, one incandescent front porch light to every consumer who will agree to install and use three or more incandescent lights in his house. The resolution also instructed the City Engineer to cease the work of erecting poles and wires for arc lights in the streets. The idea of the city council is that the streets will be sufficiently lighted by the porch lights.

Columbus, Ohio.

A REPORT of the new municipal electric lighting plant for the six months ending June 10th, compares the cost of production in Columbus with the cost in other cities and shows greatly to the advantage of Columbus. The total operating expense is given as \$27,651 or \$14 per lamp. Allowing for depreciation and interest the annual cost per lamp on the basis of the first six months' accounts is \$48, which the report says is the lowest price for which any city in the United States gets its light.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

Boston, Mass.

NEWS OF INDUSTRIAL COÖPERATION.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the Coöperative Association of America.

The Southern California Fruit Exchange.

THE HISTORY of the coöperative organization of the citrus fruit growers of California cannot fail to be especially interesting to those who believe in a square deal as well as the democracy of industrialism, for they have made one of the most successful fights against railroad extortion and trust oppression that has been made in the United States.

Twenty-five years ago the annual total shipments of citrus fruits from the California field were scarcely 20 carloads, and but ten years later the output had increased to 4,000 carloads. The problem of marketing this immense supply of lemons and oranges became more and more complex and the small fruit grower was rapidly becoming the easy prey of the speculator. The year 1892-3 was the most disastrous to the fruit growing industry in the history of the state. In many instances growers were compelled to pay freight and packing charges on fruit for which they received nothing. The failure of the speculating shippers to place the years' crop in the Eastern market at fair prices caused the growers to meet in convention in Los Angeles for the purpose of formulating a plan whereby each grower might secure a marketing of his fruit under uniform methods, and might secure the full average price obtainable for the entire season. According to the plans decided upon associations were organized in all principal citrus fruit districts, the packing being done by the associations at cost, and the marketing by an executive committee made up of one member from each district. This arrangement was continued two seasons, but was not entirely satisfactory, and consequently in 1895 the Southern California Fruit Exchange was organized by the various district exchanges. Since that time the marketing of the entire fruit output controlled by the exchange and their associations has been in the hands of this central exchange, except during a period of seventeen months, from April, 1903, to September, 1904, when

the exchange combined with the principal non-exchange shipping interests under the name of the California Fruit Agency. The results of this alliance were not satisfactory to the growers and on September 1, 1904, the exchange resumed the sale of the fruit it controlled. In 1905 the name of the association was changed from Southern California Fruit Exchange to the California Fruit Growers' Exchange, this step being considered advisable in order that the marketing by the association might become general throughout the state rather than remain local to Southern California.

The plan of operation of the exchange is simple and quite democratic. The local association consists of a number of growers situated near each other who unite themselves for the purpose of preparing their fruit for market on a coöperative basis. They establish their own brands and make such rules as they may agree upon for grading, packing and pooling their fruit. Usually these associations own thoroughly equipped packing houses. All members pick and deliver fruit to the packing house, where it is weighed in and properly receipted for. Every grower's fruit is separated into different grades, according to quality, and usually thereafter it goes into the common pool, and takes its percentage of the returns according to grade. At present there are more than 80 associations covering every citrus fruit district in California and packing nearly 200 reliable and guaranteed brands of oranges and lemons. The associations in a locality unite to form the local exchange, where questions of purely local interest and other minor matters are disposed of, more important matters being referred to the general exchange. This exchange is composed of thirteen stockholders who are also directors and are elected by the local exchanges.

The exchange has established a system of exclusive agencies for the marketing of their fruit in all the principal cities of the country, employing as agents active, capable young

men of experience in the fruit business. These agents are salaried, and have no other business of any kind to engage their attention, and none of the exchange representatives handle any other citrus fruits. Over these agencies are two general or traveling agents, with authority to supervise and check up the various offices. These general agents maintain in their offices at Chicago and Omaha, a complete bureau of information, through which all agents receive every day detailed information as to sales of exchange fruit in other markets the previous day. If any agent finds his market sluggish, and is unable to sell at the average prices prevailing elsewhere, he promptly informs the head office in Los Angeles, and sufficient fruit is diverted from his market to relieve it and restore prices to normal level. During the fourteen years of coöperative marketing the output of the state has increased from 4,100 cars in 1892-3 to 31,791 cars during the season of 1904-5, with a prospect of a still further increase in the volume of shipments in the very near future.

In 1895-6 out of a total of 2,545,200 boxes of fruit shipped, the exchange handled 32 per cent. In 1905-6 from a total of 9,900,000 boxes shipped 48 per cent. was handled by the exchange and it is estimated that the exchange shipped 55 per cent. of the crop of 1906-7, which reached the enormous amount of 11,286,000 boxes. The total amount of business transacted during the last three years is approximately \$30,000,000 net, and during that time there has been a loss of but \$310 which was from failure to collect or in transmission of funds.

The exchange was largely instrumental in securing the cent-a-pound duty on imported citrus fruits, in reducing the icing charges, and in lowering the lemon rates from \$1.25 to \$1.00 per hundred pounds, and orange rates from \$1.25 to \$1.15 per hundred pounds.

Surely there are few business enterprises on the private-ownership and every-man-for-himself plan which have a better record of efficiency than this.

Congress of The International Co-operative Alliance.

THE International Coöperative Congress which was held at Cremona, on September 23, 24, and 25, 1907, was the Seventh Congress of the International Coöperative Alliance, previous congresses having met in London,

1859; Paris, 1896; Delft, 1897; Paris, 1900; Manchester, 1902; and Budapest, 1904.

The Congress was open both to delegates and to visitors and a program of entertainment was arranged which included a social gathering on the 22d of September, a performance of opera, a mandolin concert, trotting races, aquatic sports on the River Po, a visit to the headquarters of the Union of Coöperative Agricultural Societies of Italy at Piacenza, a collective visit to Milan, and an optional visit to Venice. The sights visited at Milan included the magnificent establishments of the Unione Coöperativa with its vast cellerage, the buildings of the Societa Umanitaria; the buildings erected by the coöperative stonemasons and bricklayers, and other objects of interest to coöperators.

The principal subjects under discussion were:

"The National Organization of Agricultural Coöperation," by Dr. M. P. Blem, Member of the Danish Parliament, Chairman of the Danish Central Coöperative Committee, and by Commendatore G. Raineri, Member of Italian Parliament and Chairman of the Italian Agricultural Coöperative Union.

"The Importance of Wholesale Coöperation," by Dr. William Maxwell, Chairman of the Scottish Coöperative Wholesale Society.

"What Coöperation Can Do to Help Workingmen and Small Cultivators in Their Daily Life," M. Louis Bertrand, Member of the Belgian Chamber and Founder of the Maison du Peuple at Brussels and by M. G. Garibotti of Cremona, founder of many Italian coöperative societies and member of the Committee of the Italian Coöperative Union.

"Women's Part in Coöperation," by Mme. Treub-Cornaz, President of the Dutch Women's Coöperative Guild.

"A Comparison of Coöperative Legislation in Different Countries," by Professor Attilio Cabiati, on behalf of the Italian Coöperative Union.

The proceedings of the Congress, detailed notice of which will be given later in THE ARENA, have been printed in English, French, German and Italian.

Co-operating Italians.

IN AN article entitled *The Italian on the Land: A Study in Immigration*, by Emily Fogg Meade, which appears in the Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor for May, 1907, an account of the Italian settle-

ment at Hammonton in the southern part of New Jersey, is most interestingly told, and the growth and development of which the Italian farmer is capable industrially are shown by the prosperous conditions which exist among the Italians of the town at the present time. In 1867 the Fruit Growers' Union, a coöperative association, was organized for the purpose of disposing of the fruit which its members controlled. The Union had a large Italian membership, and there have been two other coöperative societies, including two exclusively Italian associations, the most successful being the Shippers' Union composed of Italians and Americans, and the Elm Farmers' Club. This latter society manages its own loading, owns its own ice houses, and charters its own cars. In 1905 it had 44 members, 64 per cent of which were Italians, and the dividends paid for that year represented 2½ per cent. on gross sales, ranging from \$2.95 to \$64.53 on sales from \$107 to \$2,847. A local telephone system has recently been completed and thus far 29 telephones have been subscribed for by Italians.

A Co-operative Barber-Shop.

CHICAGO has a barber-shop run on a coöperative basis by six men, not one of whom in the first place had enough capital to start a shop and hire the others, but deciding to dispense with a boss, they pooled their resources and opened a barber-shop of their own. The receipts go into a common fund, a reserve is kept to meet rent, light, and other expenses, and at the end of the week receipts are divided. Thus far the coöperative scheme has been a success, not only in the increased receipts which the men get but also in the spirit of good will and mutual helpfulness which pervades the shop, and they find, so they say, that the general public will patronize them rather than a shop controlled by a boss.

Washington, D. C.

THE Department Clerks' Coöperative Guild, organized by the Government employes of Washington, has opened its first store, which is a provision store. The response of the clerks to the canvass for subscriptions is reported as entirely satisfactory and the projectors of the plan are enthusiastic over the outlook.

Co-operative Exchanges.

THE Wisconsin State Federation of Labor in its fifteenth annual convention passed a resolution endorsing the American Society of Equity and the delegates were instructed to coöperate with the Society in their efforts to organize coöperative exchanges which the farmers as members of the Society are beginning to maintain for the mutual benefit of the trade unionists and themselves.

Orange Co-operative Ice Company.

THE Coöperative Ice Manufacturing Company which was organized recently at Orange, New Jersey, is meeting with marked success, and it is said that they have already so many customers in the Oranges, Montclair, and Roseville, that another wagon, the fourth, has been added to their equipment. A letter was received recently by the president of the company, Mr. McLean, offering \$25,000 to \$35,000 subscription from one man. It was promptly rejected by him on the ground that such a large subscription for stock would upset the coöperative economy plan of the company. This amount of money would have enabled the company to begin at once the building of the factory on the site they bought sometime ago, but loyalty to the coöperative principle made its acceptance impossible.

A Co-operative Kosher Market.

THE Jewish residents of Milwaukee have voted to open a coöperative kosher meat-market, as soon as \$10,000 in stock in shares of \$1 each shall be sold. This action was induced by the rise in prices made by the associated butchers for "kosher" meat.

Co-operating Capitalists.

THE Citizens' Tunnel Committee of New York City is considering a plan for a coöperative stock company to be formed for the purpose of erecting 5,000 houses in different parts of the island. Many prominent builders, lumbermen, realty dealers, and contractors are interested.

Elmira, New York.

THE Elmira Coöperative Savings and Loan Association, started a juvenile savings branch in April, and in three months' time 140 children were enrolled, although there were only three deposit days. This number far exceeded the expectations of the officers,

who ordered 50 banks at the outset, thinking this number would be ample.

Co-operative Dining Room.

SEVERAL families in Omaha are trying the experiment of a coöperative dining-room, which is under the management of Mr. C. R. Courtney, a leading grocer. Because of the nature of his business, Mr. Courtney is able to make the various departments sup-

plement each other, and accordingly runs the kitchen on a most economical basis. He began his experiment by serving cold meats and salads, then extended the business to hot foods, and later inaugurated the coöperative dining-room, where a dozen or more families have their own tables, and furnish their own napery, silver and dishes.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

Boston, Mass.

THE WRITINGS OF CARL MARX.*

A BOOK-STUDY.

BY ERNEST UNTERMANN.

THE SOLUTION of the puzzles of political economy from the point-of-view of the modern industrial proletariat, and the formulation and practical demonstration of a perfectly scientific theory of capitalist production and circulation, is the epoch-making work of Karl Marx.

He reëxamined the entire economic literature of the past. And he studied it from a point-of-view which had very naturally been unfamiliar to all his predecessors, namely, the evolutionary and inductively scientific one. What had long been the established method in astronomy, and what had gradually since the eighteenth century, become the accepted method of research in natural sciences, was carried by Marx into the study of history and economics. Instead of starting out from preconceived notions and building a system of speculations on them, he proceeded critically from fact to fact, and gathered a long unanswerable array of historical materials which he sifted and arranged in such a way that he arrived at the understanding of the reasons which had prevented his predecessors from finding a solution of economic problems. In fact, what they had considered as a solution and had been compelled to give up as hopeless, now appeared to him as the real problem and at the same time furnished him with the means to solve it.

This solution is laid down in a work of three volumes, entitled *Capital*. The entire material for these volumes was in the hands of Marx when he published the first volume of his work in 1867. But owing to ill health, and to his habit of keeping abreast of new developments by collecting ever new material and criticising himself as he went along, he died before he had been able to get volume II. ready for publication. His lifelong companion and co-worker, Frederick Engels, completed the work from manuscripts left by the deceased. Under these circumstances the first German edition of Volume II. did not appear until 1885, and the first German edition of Volume III. until 1894.

Only the first volume of this work has been accessible to English readers up to the present time. And it has often been mistaken for the complete work. Only quite recently has the publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago, undertaken a complete edition of all three volumes brought up to date and revised according to the latest German editions. As this is the only complete edition of Marx's work in the English language it should receive the careful attention of friend and foe alike, and it is recommended particularly to those critics of Marx, who have so far relied for their knowledge of his theories exclusively on the garbled and muddled versions of capitalist professors like Schaeffle, Sombart, Böhm-Bawerk, Le Bon, Mallock, and others of the same caliber.

*"Capital." By Karl Marx. Translated by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling. Edited by Frederick Engels. In three volumes. Vol. I: "Capitalistic Production." Cloth, Pp. 870. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co.

And let it be said at this point that garbled versions and misleading critiques of this work can have no more effect upon the *facts* which it reveals than a critique of Darwinism can have upon the working of natural selection. One might as well expect that a critique of the Copernican system should stop the earth from revolving around the sun. Let the enemies of Marx, and of the proletariat, realize that the work of Marx responds to the historical demands of the proletariat and that these demands will be fulfilled as surely as were those of the capitalist class against feudal society. Let it be understood that the Marxian theories are not mere abstract speculations but correct reflections of actual processes. Whether the partisans of the capitalist class misrepresent and misinterpret the work of Marx or not, the theories laid down in this work have become the universally accepted foundation of the international working-class movement. And this is the most convincing and irrefutable proof of their soundness, for no historical class has ever accepted or ever will accept any system of theories that does not meet the essential requirements of its life and progress. The sooner this is realized by the opponents of Marx in the capitalist camp, the sooner will they arrive at the understanding that the essential thing for them and their class is not to distort but to *understand* Marxian theories and to adapt themselves as best they may to his conclusions.

The existence of such a thing as surplus-value had been admitted even by the economists of the capitalist class. It had also been stated by them more or less clearly that surplus-value was the value of the unpaid products of labor. But this was as far as classic economy had gotten. The classic economists, even at their best, analyzed merely the proportion in which the products of labor were divided between the laborers and the capitalists.

The early socialists, on the other hand, declared that the distribution of the products of labor was unjust, and hunted for utopian means by which this injustice could be overcome.

Neither the classic economists nor the early socialists were able to point out the historical way in which this "injustice" perpetuated itself and by which it would in due time create the conditions of its own downfall.

Marx laid his finger upon the vital problem.

What is value, what is surplus-value, and what is the particular process under capitalist production that produces and reproduces them? What results from this mode of production and its mechanism? What *rôles* do the laborer and the capitalist play in it?

In his quest for information on these points Marx reexamined the Ricardian theory of value. He eliminated all obscuring and disturbing elements from the subject of his inquiry. The production of value and its realization were then for the first time studied in their normal condition, with all exceptions and irregularities removed.

The first decisive step in the inquiry of Marx was to ascertain that it was not labor which was bought by the capitalist but labor-power. The capitalist buys labor-power in the competitive market just as he buys every other commodity. If it is the normal custom for commodities in this market to be sold at their value, then the laborer who sells his labor-power must likewise sell it at its value. This value, according to Ricardo's theory, is measured by the labor incorporated in the commodities. The value of labor-power, then, is equal to the value of the necessities of life required to reproduce the same labor-power. The laborer receives in his wages the full value of his labor-power, according to the laws of capitalist exchange.

But labor-power has one quality which distinguishes it from all other commodities. When other commodities are consumed they disappear and with them disappears their value. Not so labor-power. The longer it is consumed by the capitalist by putting it to work the more value it produces. The capitalist pays the social value of labor-power when he buys it, but he does not pay for the time that he uses it in the process of production. The laborer applies his labor-power at labor and reproduces in a portion of his working time his wages, the value of his labor-power. Marx calls this his necessary labor time. The remaining portion of the laborer's working day is devoted to surplus-labor. In this way, surplus-value is produced. Although the capitalist pays the laborer only for his labor-power, but not for the time he puts it to work, nor for the products it produces, yet he is the owner of these products.

His product has then a greater value than he advanced for it, because it contains unpaid portions, surplus-values. He sells his

products at their value which is determined by the social labor time necessary for their production, but he has paid only for a part of this value and in selling gets therefore more money than he paid to have them produced.

This was the first general basis on which Marx went beyond Ricardo's theory of value. But now the question arose, what kind of labor is it by which the value of commodities is to be measured?

Marx's reply was a further improvement of the crude Ricardian idea of value. Exchange-value, says Marx, represents abstract human labor in general, regardless of the craft or skill which produced a certain commodity. All kinds of labor can be reduced to simple average labor. Complex or skilled labor can be reduced to the same denominator of simple average labor. What determines the value of a commodity is not the actual amount of this simple average labor put into it, but the amount socially necessary, the time socially required, to turn out a certain product under given conditions of technical and social advance. If more than the time socially necessary of this kind of labor is put into the production of a commodity, the extra time spent on it is a loss to the capitalist. If less is spent on it, the capitalist is that much ahead.

Having satisfied himself that this was the correct general measure of exchange-value, Marx then analyzed the organic composition of the capital invested in the exploitation of this kind of labor. Here Marx made another advance over previous economists by showing that capital is not a mere thing, not merely so much money, machinery, materials, commodities, but a social relation between industrial capitalists and wage laborers. He shows that other forms of capital than industrial capital had preceded the present form, but that all forms of capital rest on the social relation between an exploiting and an exploited class.

What is the typical mark of the relations between industrial capital and wage labor? It is that the industrial wage laborer belongs to a class that has no other means of existence but the sale of labor-power to the owners of the machinery of production. Since only labor produces social exchange-values, the significant and productive portion of the capitalist's capital is the wages capital. The other portions of capital do not produce any values.

Marx calls wages capital "variable capital," and capital invested in machinery, raw materials, etc., "constant capital."

This is the really significant division of capital, and the only one which can lay bare the mechanism of capitalist production.

The capitalist invests a certain amount of money in machinery, raw and subsidiary materials. He invests another portion in the purchase of labor-power. This whole investment represents a definite quantity of exchange-values, of social labor time.

The capitalist pays the full social value for these things (at least this must be the basis of the inquiry, although it is understood that there are many irregularities in practice). Now the capitalist puts the laborer to work. The laborer sets the machinery in motion and works up the raw materials into finished products. At the same time, a certain quantity of subsidiary materials, coal, oil, etc., is consumed. The value of these things is not altered by the labor-process. It is merely transferred to the new product. Only the variable capital invested in wages is the actually productive capital. It alone has the faculty of varying in value, because it is invested in the commodity labor-power, which is the only one that can produce more value than it has itself on the market. The laborer adds new values to the old by transferring raw materials into finished products. A portion of these new values reproduces his wages, the other portion is surplus-value, for which the capitalist pays nothing.

The value of the constant capital is not transferred to the product in a uniform way, nor are all old and new values circulated in the same way on the market. The constant capital represents so much past labor in a crystallized form. The machinery wears out gradually, and its value is transferred to the new product in small portions, and so circulated and recovered by the sale of the product. Marx calls this the circulation of the fixed capital constant. The raw and subsidiary materials are completely consumed in the production of new articles, and their whole value is circulated all at one time in these articles and recovered by sale in the sphere of circulation. This is the circulation of circulating constant capital. The circulation of both fixed and circulating constant capital recovers, or reproduces, no new values. It merely recovers old values.

The new values produced by means of the

variable capital are likewise wholly circulated like the circulating constant capital. In this way the capitalist recovers by the sale of his product the value of the worn-out machinery, of the used-up materials and subsidiary substances, and of the laborer's wages, and besides, he realizes on the surplus-values which the laborer has added to the product over and above his wages.

But the capitalist does not divide his capital into constant and variable parts. He figures his gains on the total capital invested by him, and calls the values secured by him above his outlay his profit.

On the other hand, if the laborer wants to know how much surplus-value he produces, he should calculate it on the variable capital (wages) paid by the capitalist for the production of a certain quantity of commodities.

It is evident, then, that the profit of the capitalist and the surplus-value of the laborer represent the same quantity of values, but since profit is calculated on the whole capital invested, and surplus-value only on the variable capital, it follows that the rate of profit appears always smaller than the rate of surplus-value.

This is so much more significant, as the rate of profit does not show the intensity of exploitation. The laborer's working day cannot be extended beyond a certain natural limit. His hours of labor may be prolonged from 8 to 9 and from 9 to 10, and so on, but there is a certain natural limit, beyond which he cannot continue to work without collapsing. Surplus-value produced by the prolongation of the working day is called absolute surplus-value by Marx.

But this is not the most effective mode of exploiting the laborer. The most productive way is to make him produce more surplus-value in the same, or in less time, than before. This can be done only by making him work harder, or by giving him machinery which moves more rapidly and compels him to work more intensely than the old machinery. This method is all the more effective as it enables the capitalist to produce his goods cheaper, and thus undersell his competitors and make more profits.

Surplus-value produced by an intensification of exploitation in the same labor time is called relative surplus-value by Marx.

If the laborer produces more commodities in the same, or in less, time than before, every commodity will contain so much labor less

time, will have so much less exchange-value, and will, therefore, be sold so much more cheaply. But the total quantity of commodities will be larger. This greater quantity of commodities so produced contains a larger total amount of value and surplus-value, and brings a greater quantity of total profits than formerly, although the rate of profits decreases in proportion as the productivity of labor reduces the value of the individual commodities.

The capitalist gets control of his surplus-values in the sphere of production. But he gets his money for them in the sphere of circulation. He must sell his commodities in a competitive market. If it is the rule on this market that only equivalents are exchanged, in other words, that all commodities are sold at their values, then no capitalist can undersell his competitors or sell at the same price as they and make a higher profit, unless he can produce his goods cheaper than they. And the only way in which he can reduce the value of his goods is to increase the productivity of his laborers, so that they will produce the same quantity of goods in less time, or a larger quantity of goods in the same time as before. Then each commodity will contain less labor time (necessary and surplus-labor), have a smaller value, and consequently sell at a lower price.

But the only effective method to increase the productivity of labor is to invest more and more of the profit in improved machinery, and relatively less and less in wages. The capitalist must, therefore, accumulate a reserve fund of money for the expansion of his scale of reproduction. Both the constant and the variable capital increase continually, but the constant grows faster than the variable.

The accumulation of capital for the purpose of expanding reproduction is called the *concentration of capital*. This has a two-fold effect. On the one hand, it drives the small capitalists out of business, because it requires more and more capital to enter the competitive market successfully. On the other hand, it reduces the opportunities for employment to the laborers. In proportion as the accumulation of capital increases and the laboring population grows in numbers, a larger and larger army of unemployed is created and threatens the whole social system.

Since profits are calculated and realized in proportion to the total capital invested in production, and since all capitalists compete

on the market, the tendency is to establish an average rate of profit for all capitals regardless of their organic division into constant and variable capital. This has the effect of handicapping those whose capital is of lower than average composition, and to favor those whose capital is of higher than average composition. In other words, the capitals with a larger percentage of constant capital than the average capitals will realize a surplus-profit, and those with a smaller percentage of constant capital than the average will not get the full average profit.

This ideal working out of the law of value as a regulator of prices is, however, disturbed by supply and demand, by local irregularities, and by the tendency of all capitalists to cheat the buyer. Nevertheless, the law of value regulates in the last analysis even these irregularities, and the result is a fluctuation of prices around an average which in the long run results in an average rate of profit for all capitals regardless of composition, so that each capitalist reaps profits as though his capital were so many per cent. of one single social capital.

This competition between capitalists leads to the *centralization* of money and means of production into fewer and fewer hands, and this again leads to a greater intensification of the unemployed problem.

The unemployed problem, on the other hand, intensifies the competition of laborers for jobs. This has a tendency to keep wages at the average level of subsistence.

The mechanism of capitalist production thus reduces the relative number of capitalists and increases the relative number of propertyless proletarians. In other words, capital produces by its own methods the conditions

which undermine its own foundation.

While the capitalists weaken and destroy one another, they create at the same time a relative overproduction of goods, because the number of wage-earners decreases relatively as the productivity of their labor increases, and because their wages always buy but a fraction of the products produced by them. This leads periodically to commercial crises. In proportion as capital pauperizes its best consumers, the working-class, it is compelled to seek new markets in foreign countries, to carry on wars of conquest, and to create in this way the conditions for ever greater overproduction and ever larger unemployed problems.

From these contradictions, which are inherent in its own nature, capital cannot get away. It exists only in them and by them, and must ultimately fall through them.

The economic antagonism between exploiting capitalists and exploited wage workers becomes more and more intense. It is transferred from the economic to the political field. Organized by the process of capitalist development itself, the economic and political organizations of the working-class unite, capture the political power, and abolish capital, the capitalist class, and all exploitation by making the land and machinery of production and distribution social property.

This social property is then used by all on a basis of economic equality, the coöperatively produced products are distributed at their social value in proportion to the labor performed by each, and buying and selling at a profit come to an end. Socialism takes the place of Capitalism.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

Chicago, Ill.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

Poema of Mystery. By W. Y. Sheppard. Decorated and illustrated by William M. Young. Paper. Pp. 37. St. Louis: The Shelly Printing Company.

THIS little volume of verse from the pen of a young writer, contains many little poetical waifs charming in their rhythmic

quality and instinct with serious thought. The work is very superior to most present-day volumes of similar character and we think holds the prophecy of good work on the part of the author in the future, if he holds firmly to high ideals and makes his muse serve the cause of justice and the interests of the people.

The following poems will interest readers of THE ARENA while they give a fine idea of Mr. Sheppard's verse and the thought that

*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

runs like a golden thread through his little rhymes:

"THE FACTORY.

"The whistle blows; and ere its shriek has died
A thousand feet reëcho on the stairs;
Girlhood, upon whose face the mother's cares
Retell their tale of nature's laws defied;
Manliness sapped of all the higher man,
A skeleton of what might once have been.
They mingle, maid and man, and move as when
A cow and bull are yoked, to work in span.
And man and man-made law would call it just—
But, God, what thinkest thou of human lust?"

"THE ENIGMA.

"The goaded grind of the toiler,
The work that is never done,
The ceaseless struggle for living,
By sweat from sun to sun;
That others may loll in plenty,
In ease they never won.
The haggard eye of a woman,
The twisted form of a man,
The child, with its shrunken features,
Who knew not when childhood began—
And all for the sake of her raiment,
The price of her silken fan;
Yet the papers make much of her giving,
And speak of her charities rare;
Forgetting the ones she is feeding,
The ones that are burdened with care,
Have given their lives for her dainties,
And the jewels that gleam in her hair."

"CHARITY.

"The burr of shafting beats upon the ear,
And back and forth a multitude of hands
Supply the energy that Trade commands,
Regardless of the sigh that saps the tear.
In finery arrayed, at price so dear,
Another folk, The Leaders of the Lands,
Forgetful of the common mortal bands,
Love, laugh; and give—that other ears may hear.

"We do not ask the crumbs cast to the hound,
In order that the hand that gives may feel
The adulation of the cringing slave:
The bended form, answering the whistle's sound,
Has, by God's law, the right to love and weal,
As much as he who sold the crust he gave."

"NOON.

"And it is noon. A hungry, eager throng
Pours forth from tall piled hives of brick and stone
Beneath their feet, already deeply worn,
The pavement shudders as they surge along.
They push and pull, the best place for the strong.
They mix and crowd, each fighting for his own.
On every face the selfish end is shown,
Regarding weakness as the only wrong.

"Lord, why this wage of unremitting war
Of man 'gainst man, for nothing worth the while?
The earth and sea teem with enough for all.
And, still, they rend and tear, both near and far.
And, still, above the strife your heavens smile,
Holding their secret till the final call."

"THE UNDER ONES.

"Have you watched in the shadow of evening
The forms go stealthily by,
When the lights from the lamps reflected
The hopeless light in the eye?

"I've stood on the corner and watched them,
These children of sorrow and sin,
With a head that was heavy with thinking,
And a heart that was weeping within.

"Onward and onward they struggle,
From toil to tempter and task;
Prepared as well for the ending
As even the devil could ask.

"And it's make the maid a mother,
And it's make the mother a hag;
And it's fight for the wealth of the nation,
And it's cheer for its floating flag.

"Have you stopped to compare the others
With those whom we dare not name,
When the bells ring out from the churches,
Knelling them only their shame?

"I've seen them pause for a moment,
Hesitating there on the street;
But afraid of the scornful glances
They knew their eyes would meet.

"Onward and onward they wander
From the temple of Magdalene,
Driven by creed and bigot
From the light they might have seen.

"And it's make for yourself a heaven,
And it's make it only for you,
With a gate so narrow and rusty
It can never open for two."

Here is a sweet little stanza on love that gives some idea of another mood of the poet:

"I met you and I looked into your eyes;
Strange feelings stirred within my breast:
I kissed you, and my heart, grown wondrous wise,
Knew what of life was sweetest, best."

Poems of the Home. By T. F. Hildreth, A.M.,
D.D. Cloth. Pp. 150. Norwalk, Ohio:
The Lansing Company.

DR. HILDRETH is an able prose writer and thinker. He has contributed to *THE ARENA* and to many other prominent periodicals, and we think he appears to best advantage in prose. His verse abounds in fine sentiments and is not devoid of imagery, but often its failure to conform to the laws of versification destroys the rhyme and rhythm and makes the reader wish the poet had clothed his thoughts in simple prose. It is therefore in the ideas presented and the many charming trains of thought suggested by the imagery presented that one finds the chief charm in this work.

Below we give two characteristic poems which well mirror the thought of the poet and are more rhythmic than some of the otherwise excellent verses that fill the volume:

"MIND IS PRESENT EVERYWHERE.

"Behind each swelling bud and flower
We see the presence of a power
That secretly, in each has wrought
In clear outline, some golden thought
Of truth and beauty, which declare
That Mind is present everywhere.

"As noiselessly as sunbeams play,
The looms of life weave night and day;
And from the clouds and dust of earth
New forms of life spring into birth;
And he who will can always find
The work of a Creative Mind.

"Reason may turn her searching eye
And sweep with telescope the sky;
Men may discuss of nature's laws,
Of matter and its primal cause;
Yet every line of thought will lead
Through law and matter, up to God."

"MY MOTHER.

"I see her now—her clear, black eye—
Her calm, smooth brow, her glossy hair.
I look, and on her face I see
A mother's smile of love is there.

"Once more I see her white-frilled cap—
The kerchief crossed upon her breast.
I sit beside her as I did
When sometimes she would stop to rest.

"Our home was scant, comforts were few,
And want was often present there;
But she was brave, and armed with love
She drove the specter from the door.

"I did not understand her then,
Nor did I know her mother heart;
But now the long ago comes back,
And tears of love, unbidden, start.

"She seemed to live in just one thought—
That thought, whatever else might come,
Was for the good and love of those
About her in the backwoods home.

"She did her work, and did it well;
Ripe with the years her sun went down.
Rich in the love of those she served
She 'll ever wear love's fadeless crown."

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE SENATORIAL ELECTION IN COLORADO: This month the readers of THE ARENA, with one of the most conscientious and able journalists of the West as a guide, are taken behind the curtain on the political theater in one of our greatest American commonwealths and permitted to behold the plutocracy at work. Here is seen precisely how the industrial autocracy is filling the Senate Chamber with its own representatives, whose interests are as much the interests of the masses whom the Senators are supposed to represent, as the wolf's interests are the interests of the sheep he would fain be left with. We have had the story of Pennsylvania's shame, with her Quay, and the almost inconceivable corruption and degradation that followed in the wake of the rule of that boss, backed by the Pennsylvania Railroad and other public-service corporations, trusts and monopolies. We have heard unfolded in the Senate Chamber the story of Montana's degradation and corruption; and we also remember the report of the Ohio Senate Committee, following the election of the most prominent politician in the Republican party to the United States Senate, a report that claimed that his election had been secured through corrupt practices. And we have seen that state pass into the hands of the corrupt machine which to-day again regards the notorious Boss Cox as one of its master spirits. We have seen the life-and-death struggle in Delaware, between the notorious Addicks and the decent element of the state, with the victory only achieved after a long battle in which the result was frequently in doubt. And now we behold the humiliation of a great state and how that shame was brought upon her through the industrial autocracy

and the personal ambition of leading members of the feudalism of privileged wealth.

It is only by bringing before the people every such shameful triumph of the corrupt machine and its chief source of support and director,—the industrial autocracy, that the people can be awakened to the fact that this great Republic is in deadly peril. ELLIS MEREDITH, who has prepared this story of SIMON GUGGENHEIM, is an author of national reputation through her excellent works. She has also for years been among the strongest journalists and editorial writers of Colorado, and a master spirit among the women of her state who have fought for purity of the home, for the advance of every great moral cause, and for the elevation and ennoblement of the people through justice and civic righteousness. Her paper therefore should challenge the careful attention of all earnest Americans.

Thaddeus S. C. Lowe: It is refreshing to turn from the humiliating story of personal ambition rewarded through the lavish use of money and the aid of a corrupt political machine, to the life of one of America's true noblemen,—a great scientific inventor, a man of genius and untiring energy, who has proved to be worthy of the great Republic, whose life has been crowned with results of far-reaching and almost inconceivable benefit to the people, and at the same time marked by fidelity to the high demands imposed by duty, honor, justice and right. In GEORGE WHARTON JAMES' story of Professor LOWE we have one of the most fascinating and inspiring papers of the year.

Will Government-Ownership Increase or Diminish Political Corruption? CLARENCE ARTHUR

ROYSE has given the friends of municipal-ownership precisely the kind of a paper that is most needed at the present time,—a clear presentation of facts of history that vitally bear on the one argument that employes and advocates of privately-owned public utilities depend upon to frighten the uninformed and conservative element of society. This paper is of immense value to students of municipal problems, because it is the result of painstaking research and is strictly authoritative in character. The paper forms an admirable introduction to our extended editorial on *The American City the Storm Center in the Battle for Good Government*.

The Seven Alleged Delusions of the Founder of Christian Science Examined in the Light of History and Present-Day Research: The fundamental issue involved in the newspaper campaign and the legal contest recently waged for the purpose of preventing the founder of Christian Science from directing the expenditure of her fortune, is so grave and far-reaching in character, affecting at once so vitally the great principle of religious freedom and the fundamental right of every citizen, that we felt we should be recreant to the trust imposed on a conscientious editor of a great opinion-forming review if we ignored the issue raised, and it also seemed to us that in no way would the subject be better handled than by showing the essential weakness of the charges when viewed from the standpoint of history and scientific research. The present discussion greatly exceeds our limit for papers of this character, but we had either to make three papers or to condense the facts into a single contribution, and the latter seemed the wiser.

Professor Frank Parsons on the Civic Federation's Municipal-Ownership Report: Professor PARSONS' article found in this number of the magazine is the first contribution he has been able to give to the public since his severe illness of last spring, as after his recovery his time was given solely to the work of the Civic Federation. He has fought a valiant battle for public-ownership,—a battle in which some of the strongest and shrewdest advocates of private-ownership in America were pitted against him. Personally, our attitude in regard to the Civic Federation is far different from that of Professor PARSONS, and while the part of the work in which the Professor has personally engaged,—such for example, as the work of the committee sent to Europe to investigate public-ownership in the Old World, has been splendidly done, the work conducted in other directions has been, in our judgment, far less satisfactory. We only recently published in our "Mirror of the Present" an *exposé* showing how one of the electric-light plants of Pennsylvania had been classed as a failure, when the superintendent and those conversant with the status of things declared the report to be unfounded and to abound in misstatements of facts. Perhaps it is too much to expect an organization which in the nature of the case must draw the funds for its expenses, the payment of its officers and the publication of its reports largely from the pockets of men who are interested in private-ownership and the feudalism of privileged wealth, to give to the nation anything like as full, fair and unbiased reports as would obtain if an unprejudiced government,—a government like

that of Switzerland or New Zealand, for example, should conduct such investigations.

Margaret Ridgely Partridge: A Purposeful Poet of the Higher Life: In the August-ARENA we presented a sketch of Miss RYAN, a young poet who is doing some fine work for progress. In this issue we consider the life and work of MARGARET RIDGELY PARTRIDGE, the gifted wife of the great sculptor, WILLIAM ORDWAY PARTRIDGE. Mrs. PARTRIDGE, like her husband, is dominated by the spiritual verities, having come under the spell of the great moral awakening that is yet to redeem and make the United States the grandest and most powerful moral leader in the sisterhood of nations.

Saint Gaudens: America's Greatest Sculptor. An Appreciation: In the brief paper by F. EDWIN ELWELL we have the sincere appreciation of one famous sculptor for the master American artist who has so recently left us. Mr. ELWELL is himself a true artist, a man of genius and imagination, whose great ability was appreciated by SAINT GAUDENS, and he is therefore able to render an estimate of the master in a way that partakes of the nature of an expert opinion. In our "Quiet Hour" we call attention to one of the great masterpieces of SAINT GAUDENS,—his "Lincoln."

Chinatown and the Curse that Makes It a Plague-Spot in the Nation: This month we give our readers another important contribution from the pen of ELLINOR H. STOR, a contributor whose moral sensibilities are ever keenly alive and whose heart beats in sympathy for the oppressed and wronged of every race and land. The story which this author gives will appeal to all ARENA readers and should help materially to crystallize public sentiment against this master wrong,—this imprisoning of helpless women in the most horrible of all forms of imprisonment and slavery—an imprisonment that takes from the helpless victims all the joy, the worth, the happiness and uplift that should be the heritage of every child of the Infinite, and which at the same time pulls down man and nation in the moral scale. No country can be cognizant of such plague-spots in her midst and remain indifferent to them, without forfeiting the splendid potentiality of a great to-morrow. For the emancipation of the wronged victims and for the cause of humanity and the nation's honor and health, all sincere men and women should join in an aggressive campaign to abolish this and all similar plague-spots.

Idealism: A Sketch: In Judge L. H. JONES' profoundly thoughtful paper on *Idealism*, the first part of which is published in this month's issue, will be found a luminous presentation of EMMANUEL KANT's great concepts, which are of special interest at the present time when transcendental philosophical concepts have been so sweepingly denounced by newspapers and writers who apparently are ignorant of the fact that such masters as PLATO, PLOTINUS, and KANT ever lived. In the November ARENA Judge JONES in the concluding part of his paper considers KANT's doctrine that the human mind is both the creator and the law-giver of the physical universe. These papers cannot fail to broaden the intellectual vision of the reader.